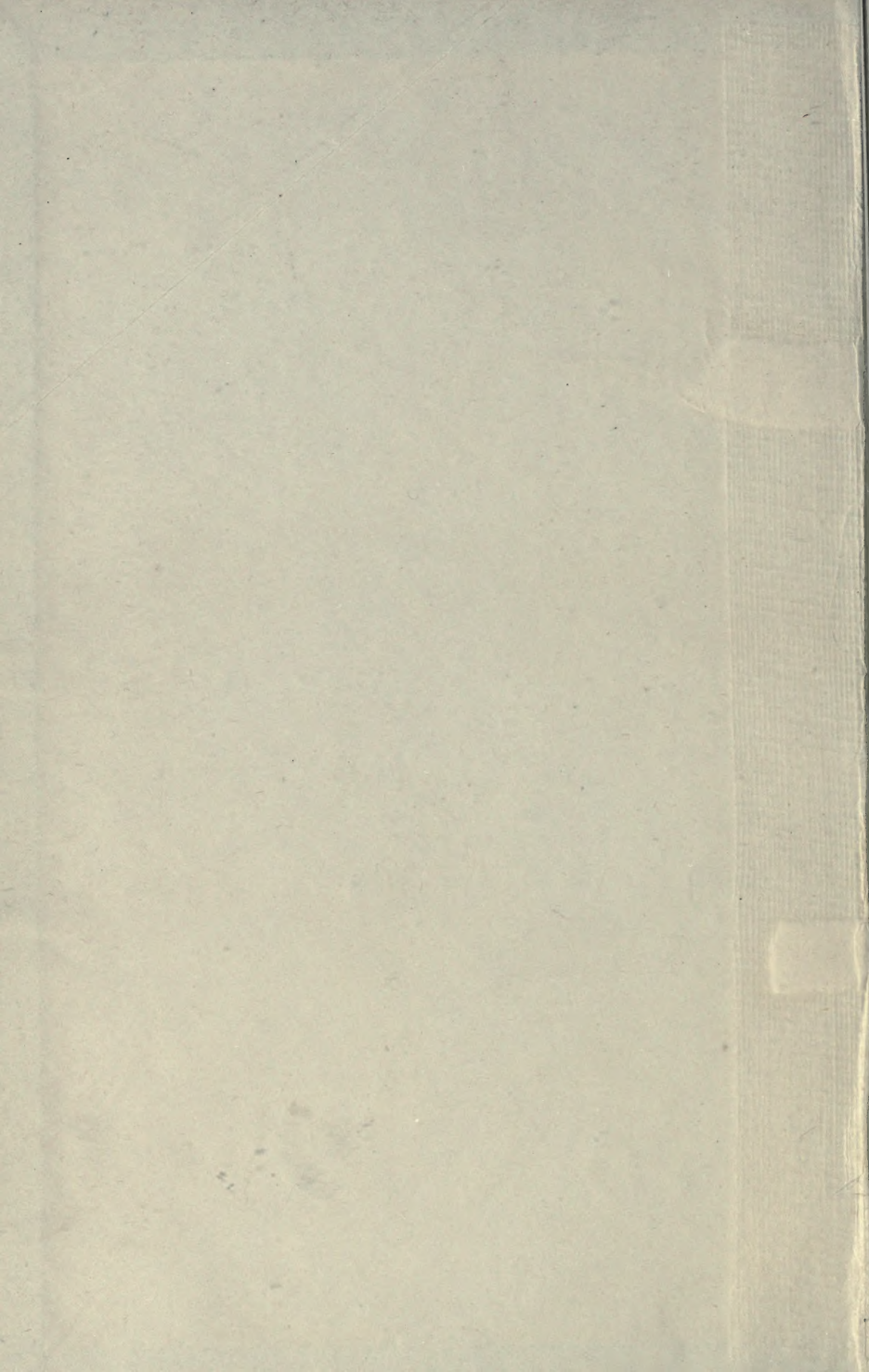


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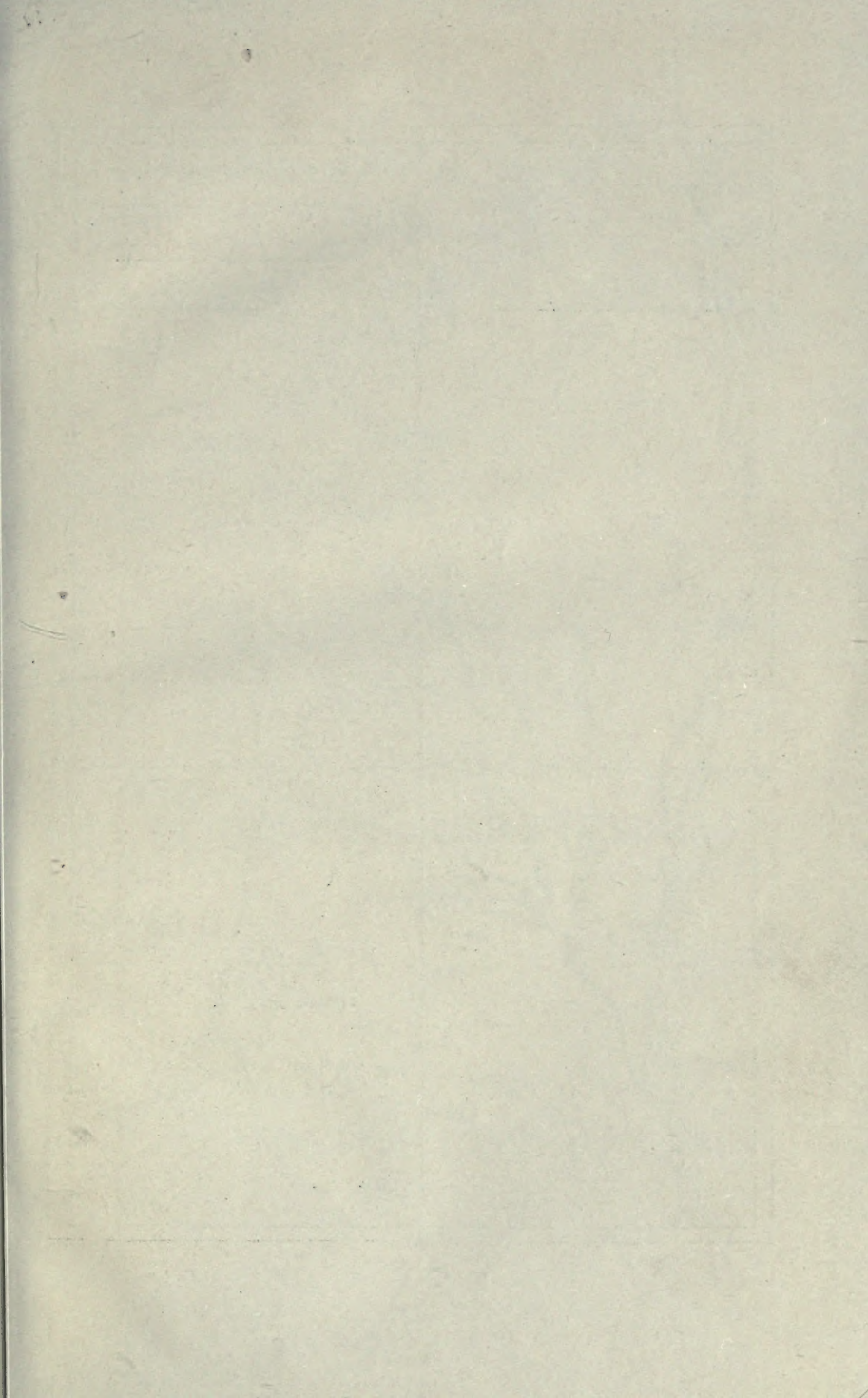


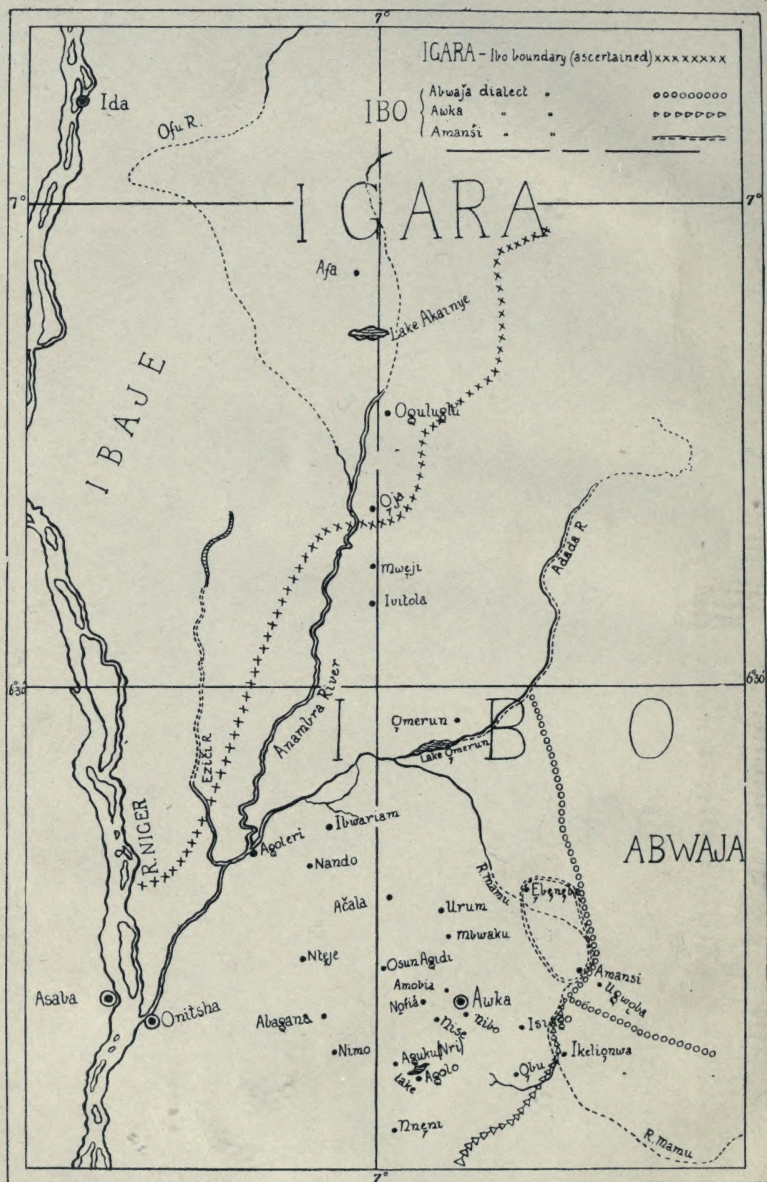
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT
ON THE
IBO-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NIGERIA.

BY
NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, M.A., F.R.A.I., ETC.,
GOVERNMENT ANTHROPOLOGIST.

PART I.
LAW AND CUSTOM
OF THE
IBO OF THE AWKA NEIGHBOURHOOD,
S. NIGERIA.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND SONS.

1913. - 1914
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT

THE SETTLING PROFILES OF NIGERIA

NORTHCOOTE W. THOMAS M.A. F.R.S.

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF

PART I

LAW AND CUSTOM

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(Continued)

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*Frontispiece.**To face PAGE 141.*

I.—INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL.

AREA COVERED.—The present boundaries of the Awka district are Lake Omerun in the north, Ugwakpo in the south, on the provincial boundary; a line running almost north and south as far as Abagana in the west, which then runs almost uniformly eastward as far as Ugwakpo; in the east the Oji River forms part of the boundary, but the frontier can only be shown exactly on a map. The portion of the Awka district to which this report relates lies almost entirely east of 7° , and entirely north of 6° . With the exception of Ugwqba and Ebeqebq no towns beyond the Mamu were visited, nor any beyond the Odq; to the west of the seventh degree for the towns of Nimo and Enugu full information is available.

One portion of the Awka district is hilly, another portion is flat; from the eastern outskirts of Awka, as far as Amañsi, the ground is perfectly level, and swampy in the rainy season; from Amañsi to Ugwqba is a swamp a mile long which has to be crossed by a piled causeway. Ugwqba itself stands on a hill, and then again comes low-lying ground inundated in the wet season. Southwards from Awka the land is extremely hilly with deep intersecting ravines; northwards the country is comparatively flat, save where a stream has to be crossed before Ačala.

LANGUAGES.—Over this area the language is fairly homogeneous though there are dialectical differences between town and town, so that for example a native of Agolo is sometimes unintelligible to a native of Awka six miles away; besides variation in words, variation in pronunciation is also found. Nimo seems to have some peculiarities of its own, there is, for example, a peculiar aspirated "r" which my Awka interpreter took to be an "s." At Qbu, too, there are peculiarities of

pronunciation, "h" seems to take the place of "s" or "r" but my Awka interpreter found no difficulty in making himself understood.

Amañsi and Èbènébè form a group by themselves, so far as I could find out; this is somewhat remarkable, for they are separated by the River Mamu, and whereas Èbènébè is seven or eight miles from Amañsi, Ugwqba is only about one mile, yet Ugwqba belongs to the Abwaĵa group, often unintelligible to the Awka interpreter, though in the rainy season it is practically entirely cut off from any Abwaĵa town; communication between Èbènébè and the Abwaĵa country, on the other hand, is very easy, and the Abwaĵa people visit the Èbènébè market every week.

Probably this multiplicity of dialects extends over all the Ibo country; Awka and Oniča are sufficiently distinct to rank as separate languages; on the west of the Niger, I was informed, five different languages are distinguished; the Orata language spoken at Bendi is again quite distinct. I have no data for estimating the number of languages in the remainder of the Ibo area.

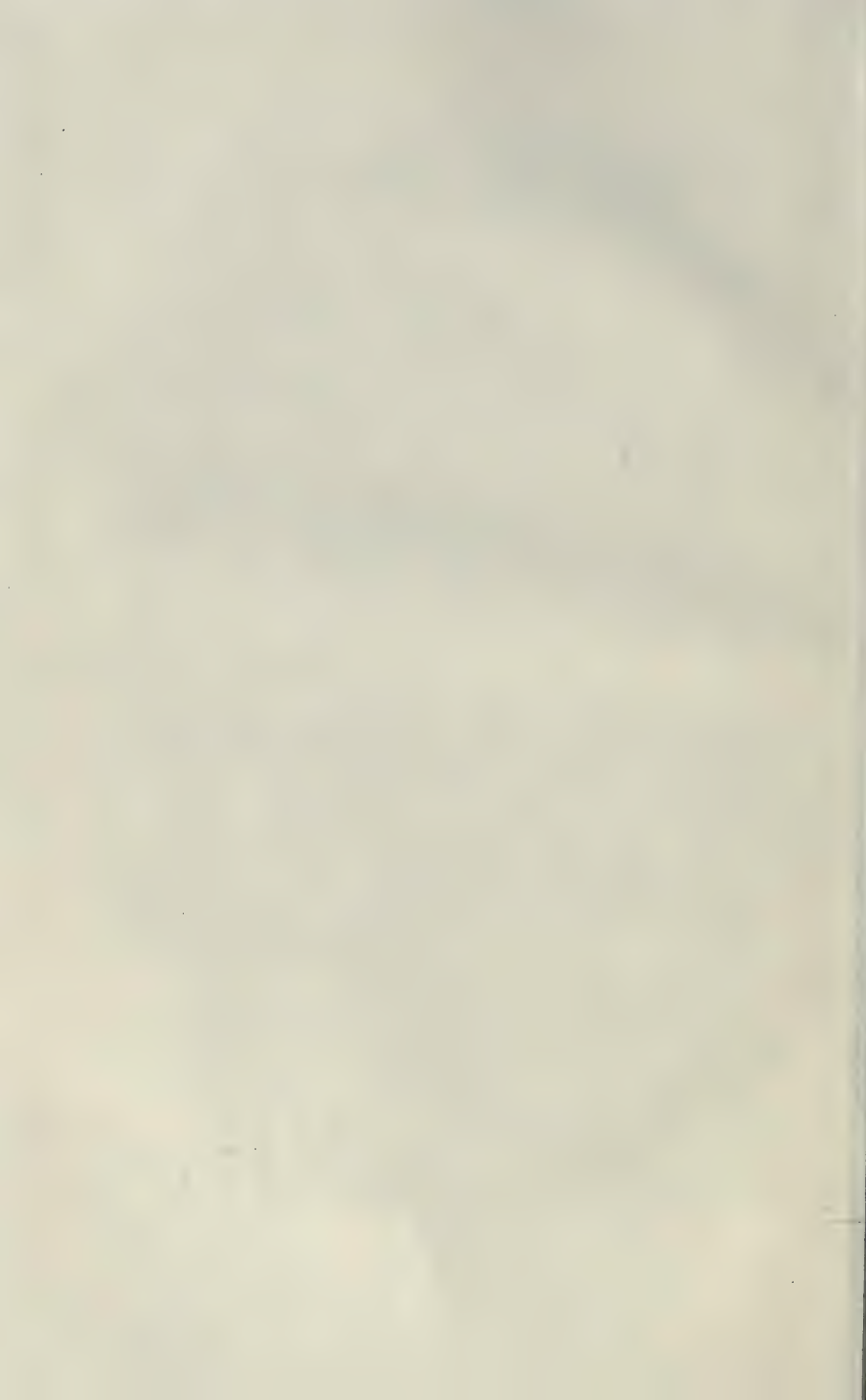
PRODUCE.—On the whole the country cannot be called productive; it is so called "white land," especially round Awka, and the yams produced are poor. I found it impossible to obtain statistics of the kind obtained in the Edo country as to the number of yams produced per annum; they are not tied up in the same way, and are dug up at different seasons of the year; estimates were given to me by various men, but they do not seem to me sufficiently reliable to be worth reproducing. One result of the unproductive character of the country is that in the rainy season many people are compelled to subsist, at least in parts, upon roots, a diet resulting in some disorder of the digestive organs which frequently carries off several hundred people in a town; apart from this the native doctors assured me that the country is healthy, and that, in the parts towards the sea coast, nearly ten times as many people out of health are to be found as in the neighbourhood of Awka; I certainly saw exceedingly few sick people.



(b) OLD MAN OF AČALA.



(a) YOUNG MAN OF AČALA.



DRESS.—The dress of the men is exceedingly practical, the young men wear simply a loin cloth, and when they wish to dance this is elaborated by cowry armlets, ivory anklets and other merely decorative adjuncts; they remove their loin cloth without the slightest hesitation at a washing place, whether women are present or not. Women about the age of seventeen or eighteen, that is to say, after they have definitely gone to their husbands, invariably wear a cloth, but remove it with an equal lack of embarrassment at a washing place. Boys put on their loin cloths sometimes as young as ten, sometimes as old as fourteen; after fourteen they will only remove it under the circumstances already mentioned; girls, on the other hand, up to the age of seventeen, are as often seen without their cloths as with them.

CHARACTER.—In general character the people seem to be exceedingly pleasant, and in particular far less greedy for money than the peoples on the west of the Niger; it happened to me, on one occasion, for example, that some repairs were wanted to a folding table; a man to whose house I had been and with whom I had eaten kola, undertook to do the work; it was performed to my entire satisfaction, and I enquired what the price would be: to my intense surprise the reply was, "you are my friend, you have eaten kola with me, I can't take money from you."

This was by no means an isolated episode; when the doctors of Ifite Nibo came to me I was anxious to secure a specimen of snake medicine from them; we were by that time on very good terms, and when I told them what I wanted, and asked what the price would be, they consulted together for a few minutes and said to me, "we will ask nothing, you are our friend, you are a traveller and we are travellers, you talk to us about our business as if you knew about it, you are a doctor; we will not take money from you."

It might be imagined that this was an attempt to get a larger amount from me by way of a dash than they could venture to ask as the price of the medicine, or that the

medicine was not genuine; I do not think either of these suppositions is correct, for the refusal of money was so obviously sincere that no question of payment arose afterwards when the medicine was brought. Another incident will sufficiently prove their sincerity; I enquired as to their procedure when they were called to a sick man; they told me that they marched up and down beating their doctors' staff on the ground, and then declared that they saw an evil spirit; I asked what they really saw, they laughed and said, "oh, nothing, but it's a good way of getting money out of a man." With such frankness as this in matters affecting their trade I can hardly imagine that they would deceive me in the matter of the snake medicine.)

COMMUNAL WORK.—With the seat of authority so indefinite as it was in most cases, it is natural that the organization of work was less elaborate than among the Edo. At Nqfia the young men would go out to clean the road when the chief told them, and the old men would look after them to see that they did their work; precisely how long this took they did not say, but at Ugwqba one day in the whole year was devoted to road work, and it is not surprising that they now say that they have less time for yam farming.

In some of the towns a chief could call his people out to work for him four days in the month; they could either go on days he fixed or tell him what day they chose; their task would be the ordinary farm work; the bigger young men cleaned grass or cut sticks, the younger men would make heaps and so on, and the old men supervised.

¶ The organization of the country was extremely simple, if indeed it can be called organization, each sept had its head, and there was sometimes a recognized head of a quarter or even of a town, but this was exceptional.)

MARKET.—The setting up of a market is apparently a very simple matter. A quarter or town decides to have one; the space is cleared, and when the alose (p. 27) tells the doctor to set him up, the doctor plants qbo and names the name of the alose; the market can be known both by its

day name and its alose name. The only peculiarity that I found in the way of markets was at Ačala, where they have two market places, the markets of which are on the same day ; each belongs to four of the quarters ; women frequently pass from one to another on the same day ; the market places are sometimes quite bare, sometimes, as at Nibo and Nise, there are houses belonging to the different quarters. At Nibo I was told that the women sat there, at Nise, however, I found they were mainly occupied by men drinking palm wine.

Owing to the large number of victims required for sacrifices when titles are made, or for food purposes, prices are, on the whole, high in the Awka district, and I endeavoured to form some idea of whether there were any seasonal variations. I visited various markets and recorded the prices of everything that I could see, but the measures were, as a rule, so different, that comparison was extremely difficult.

II.—DEMOGRAPHY.

The facts on which the following statistics are based were collected in the months of March, April, and May, 1911. The method adopted was to summon the men of a quarter, question them, and record their answers on separate sheets, and a month later the houses of these men were visited: the same questions were put to them, and members of the household were paraded for an estimate of ages. This was the course pursued at Agolo. In Upper Agolo and at Awka a simple house-to-house visitation was made.

The checking at Agolo did not result in any very great additions, except in the numbers of the bigger girls, which were, however, even with the addition, markedly below expectation. I have no reason to suppose that the revision failed to discover girls who were actually in the houses; the explanation lies in the marriage customs of Agolo, which is a poor town, and sends its girls away early to their husbands.

Although the utmost care has been taken to make the data accurate, there is one disturbing factor which nothing could eliminate, and that is the custom of infanticide, which is only slowly disappearing. Not only twins, but many other children are, or were, exposed because of some circumstance connected with their birth or development. For example, a child born with teeth is regarded as a monster who will bring misfortune on its father—perhaps the belief may be that it will devour him—and a child that cuts its top teeth first is equally under the ban; a child that does not cry for twenty-four hours and one that cannot walk when its successor arrives, are alike sacrificed to the fears of the natives, or it may be, in the latter case, to an unqualified determination to eliminate the unfit. Two children born of

different mothers in the same house on the same day reckon as twins and pay the penalty of the coincidence; a child that is born feet first may not live, nor yet a child that is born without anyone being there to receive it when it comes into the world; and the catalogue is far from being exhausted. How many fall victims annually to these customs it is impossible to say, but it is certain that the number of twins per thousand births is far greater than in Europe, and the total death roll must be enormous. The power to which all these little victims are offered is *ana*, the ground, and it is the popular belief that any violation of the *nsq ani*, prohibitions of the ground, brings disease and death upon the community. As to the origin of the *nsq* there is little to be learned, though according to the traditions of certain towns, some of them have been introduced by a solemn sacrifice to the *ana*, and a declaration in due form that henceforth this or that was the law of the Ibo land. Fortunately, there is no doubt as to the manner of removing them, and not many months ago, at a great meeting of chiefs, the ritual sacrifices were duly performed in the presence of the *Ẹzènrì*, the spiritual potentate of the district, and the *nsq ani* abolished for ever.

As we have seen, some of the prohibitions may be interpreted as conscious endeavours after a healthy stock, but this does not apply to twins, which are often, within my experience, full of vigour, and survive their exposure many hours. To the native mind the question of twins, the *nsq ani* abolished, presents itself as a problem of providing them with their natural food, for it is commonly held that one mother cannot suckle two children (it must not be forgotten that suckling goes on for years, though at nine or ten months other diet is added). Fosterage, though permitted by native custom, does not occur to them as a workable scheme, though infant mortality is high and wet nurses could be readily procured; cow's milk is of course unknown as an article of human consumption. This does not, however, mean that at the outset care for the mother dictated the sacrifice of the

twins, for in the first place it would obviously be easy to kill one and bring up the other; in the second place twin calves are as abhorrent to the native mind as twin children, and there can be no question there of care for the animal. Probably, the feeling is that twins are uncanny, though, singularly enough, they are not barred in the case of goats; more curious still, the single pup of a litter must die the death, for it is uncanny too.

Not the least singular part of the twin killing business is the large proportion of twin births in spite of the fact that the twin bearing stock has been systematically weeded out for generations. It is equally striking that twins are not more frequent in those parts of the country that do not forbid twins. Whatever be the explanation of these two latter facts it certainly is not that the number of twin births is exaggerated, for I myself have heard of seven cases within fourteen days, in a town of 7,000 inhabitants; one young wife has had twins twice and triplets once—before the *nsopu nsq* and the breaking of the prohibition, and her house is empty still; there is no coming and going of children's feet. In addition to this legal infanticide, as it may be termed, I have more than once heard that the first-born of every woman is killed; my informants were Roman Catholic missionaries, who certainly know the native and his ways, and my own statistics seem to bear out the statement, for I had already observed that the number of children borne by women under twenty was much smaller than it should be, having regard to the age of marriage, which coincides with the age of puberty, if it does not precede it.

If, however, it is a fact, it is singular that in the genealogical tables which I collected for some hundred families, there is evidence, of a kind, against the occurrence of this infanticide of the firstborn. I believe it is a well recognized fact that the sex ratio for the firstborn differs from the sex ratio for all births; if this is so, my statistics are intelligible. The proportion of boys to girls in the births was 15 to 11, but taking the firstborn only it was 15 to 8, a sufficiently



(a) MAN OF AWKA, ABOUT 40 YEARS OF AGE.



(b) MAN OF MBWAKU.



(a) WOMAN OF NIBO.



(b) WOMAN AND CHILD OF AGUKU.



large difference. It is, however, possible that it is due to the smallness of the numbers, for on the other side of the Niger among the Edo, I had previously found that the sex ratios were the same for the firstborn as for the whole of the children. Three separate towns were enumerated either wholly or in part, the Agolo quarter of Awka, Agolo town and the Ododoma quarter of Agolo Enugu.

As the figures from the three places enumerated differ considerably, it will be well to say something as to their situation and social character. Awka is a town of blacksmiths, though some of the quarters have taken to farming and none are wholly dependent on others for food supplies, half of the younger men go out at a time, remaining absent for four or more months, according to the custom of their sept. Their wanderings may take them as far as and beyond Idah, in the Igara country, over a hundred miles away, and in the old days it was their custom to bring back their earnings in the form of goods, which they forced their neighbours to buy, probably at exorbitant prices. As to the aristocrats of the district, they never condescended to carry their own loads; such at any rate is their own account. Their neighbours, however, tell a rather different story, in which they themselves figure as the spoilers and the blacksmiths as the sufferers, for they assert that they set upon the homecoming wielders of the hammer and despoiled them of all their goods. However this may be, it is certain that Awka was, and still is, far richer than the majority of its neighbours, as is evident from the fact that the men who possessed two or more wives are three times as numerous as those who possess only one.

Agolo, the quarter selected for enumeration, lies comparatively low, though it is still some fifty feet or so above the small stream that runs between Awka and the neighbouring town of Nibo. The houses lie close together; there are shady trees in abundance, and good water is not wanting.

Agolo town, on the other hand, with nine quarters, lies, two of the nine excepted, on high ground, distant some seven

miles south of Awka. It is interesting to note that the child mortality in these two quarters is considerably greater than in any of the others, or in the equally high-lying quarter of Ododoma in Agolo Enugu; in this respect they resemble the Agolo quarter of Awka. Although the water supply of Agolo town is abundant, it cannot be said to be as good in quality as that of Agolo-Awka; which is drawn from a spring in the hill side, carefully protected against contamination. Agolo town gets its water from the picturesque lake, three-quarters of a mile long, at the foot of the bold hill on which most of the quarters stand, and separating it from the priestly city of Aguku. There are a fair number of crocodiles, eight or ten feet long, to act as scavengers, but as the ordinary custom is to perform one's ablutions first, at a spot, distant several hundred yards from the outlet of the small stream that drains the lake, and then draw water for drinking or other purposes from the same place, the purity of the water is not quite what the fastidious might desire.

The houses of Agolo are scattered, with no lack of land round them, for in the old days the farmer left the precincts of his town at his own risk. Here and there they lie closer together, with the paths sometimes six feet below the level of the surrounding fields, but these trench-ways are far from being a normal feature, as they are at another Enugu, a few miles west. As regards material riches Agolo is poor; no less than two hundred and fifty-eight of the thousand odd houses had a bachelor master. One quarter of Agolo, lying on the lake, catches fish by means of circular fences with doors in front, but with this exception the population is purely agricultural.

As is commonly the case in the Ibo country, with two towns lying a mile or two apart, there are dialectical differences in the language, but this is no bar to the acquisition of Agolo girls by Awka men as wives. In the marriage customs lie, perhaps, one of the most important differences between the two populations. **I**n Awka, a girl will generally remain in her father's house till the age of fifteen or sixteen, or even older. Several hundreds of the older girls, on the

other hand, must have left Agolo to go to husbands who could afford to complete the purchase of their brides at an earlier age; for the Agolo custom permits the suitor to carry off his bride at the tender age of nine, provided he has the wherewithal to pay her father. As unmarried girls have the utmost freedom in sexual matters, the custom is probably rather conducive to health than otherwise. From the present point of view, however, its main importance is that it affects different towns differently, and consequently causes a change in the proportion of the sexes; even the casual observer cannot fail to notice the small number of unmarried girls about the age of puberty in Agolo.

As may be expected, Agolo has relatively fewer wives in proportion to the adult male population; but this does not exhibit the whole difference; for Agolo-Awka, including wives dead and living, has 232 women among 30 husbands (see p. 20), not including child wives, an average of nearly eight per husband, whereas in the threefold more numerous Agolo only eight husbands in all have more than four wives, with an average of five and a half.

With these preliminary remarks I address myself to my data. The total populations were:—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Agolo	2,244	1,733	3,977
„ (Ododoma) ...	445	384	829
Agolo-Awka	573	700	1,273
	3,262	2,817	6,079

In addition to these, there were enumerated the deceased children of males and females, now living in their own houses, in any of the three areas (it will be seen below that a comparatively large proportion of the population is parasitic, in the matter of houses); the figures are:—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Agolo	731	531	1,262
„ (Ododoma)	135	129	264
Agolo-Awka	491	339	830
	1,357	999	2,356

adding these totals to the former ones we get 4,619 males, 3,816 females, and a total of 8,435 of both sexes.

Taking only adults (over twenty years of age) we get :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Agolo	1,094	977	2,071
Ododoma	185	207	392
Awka	292	395	687
	1,571	1,579	3,150

Taking now those estimated to be under twenty years of age, we have :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Agolo	1,150	756	1,906
Ododoma	260	177	437
Awka	281	306	587
	1,691	1,239	2,930

Thus, taking the whole of the results, we find that adult males and females are almost exactly equal in numbers. Males under twenty stand to females in precisely the same

proportion as males stand to females in the children of the Edo villages ; but here, of course, the figures are not exactly comparable, as in the latter case there was no age limit, the figures relating to the children of living men irrespective of age.

If we take the same statistics among the Ibo, we find 1,218 males to 1,340 females, a difference due, in the main, to the greater mortality among boys, who numbered 2,575 to the girls 2,339, but had a mortality of over 57 per cent. compared with one of less than 43 per cent. among the girls. As the rates of mortality in Ododoma were practically equal—38 per cent. and 42 per cent.—the same may have been the case in the Edo country ; at any rate, the figures are not contradictory. Before, however, we examine the mortality figures more closely, it will be well to look into other matters.

We have seen that Awka is a rich community ; consequently it is not surprising to find on an average seven persons per house against four and a half in the other two places ; no less than a third of the inhabitants of Awka were gathered in twenty-two houses, the greatest number in one house being fifty-five. In Agolo and Ododoma only one-thirtieth and one-twentieth of the inhabitants lived more than twelve to a house. This is due, in part, to the greater number of wives, and consequently of children, in Awka, in part to the greater number of dependants, usually relatives, gathered round them by the more important chiefs. In Agolo, 180 widowed mothers resided with their sons ; 10 by themselves ; the numbers for Ododoma were 57 and 20 ; for Awka 11 and 26. Widowers numbered 50, 6, and 1, respectively.

It is commonly supposed that there are no bachelors among primitive races, but this is very far from being true ; it is possible to find men of 40 or 45 who have never married because they have been too poor to buy a wife. Lack of a wife does not, however, deter the bachelor from setting up housekeeping, for 258 of the 1,083 houses of
(6786)

Agolo were tenanted by solitary males, and over 200 more unmarried adult males had relatives living with them; 49 had child wives not more than thirteen or fourteen years old. In Ododoma there were 57 bachelors among the 185 householders.

The following table shows the condition of the three places as regards marriage, polygamy, etc. :—

No. of Husbands married to				Agolo.	Ododoma.	Awka.
1 wife	...	...	...	356	81	33
2 wives	...	...	...	136	19	44
3 „	...	...	...	38	9	19
4 „	...	...	...	16	—	8
5 „	...	...	...	5	1	9
6 „	...	...	...	2	1	10
7 „	...	...	...	—	—	5
8 or more	...	...	...	1	—	8

These numbers are exclusive of widowers and of the husbands of child wives, 49 in number, in Agolo. In addition to the 58 dead wives of widowers, there were 148 deceased wives of polygamous husbands.

				Agolo.	Ododoma.	Awka.
Husbands	...	...	...	574	115	142
Adult males	...	...	...	1,094	185	242

The following Table shows the proportion of celibates in the communities, but in the case of Awka the number is almost certainly too high, as there were certainly a number of married people among the inmates of the largest house, with 55 residents, including three women strangers.

The numbers and sexes of the children, alive and dead, are as follows :—

No. of Wives.	Sex of Child.	Agolo.	Ododoma.	Awka.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	male, alive ...	329	74	28	431	760	787
1	„ dead ...	282	48	49	329		
1	female, alive...	401	84	33	518	680	
1	„ dead...	195	52	22	269		
2	male, alive ...	165	114	56	335	680	652
2	„ dead ...	171	80	94	345		
2	female, alive...	166	146	59	371	292	
2	„ dead...	119	78	84	281		
3	male, alive ...	70	28	27	125	292	268
3	„ dead ...	107	12	48	167		
3	female, alive...	84	35	20	139	137	
3	„ dead...	70	16	43	129		
4	male, alive ...	36	—	26	62	137	113
4	„ dead ...	32	—	43	75		
4	female, alive...	39	—	17	56	367	
4	„ dead...	25	—	32	57		
more than 4	male, alive ...	37	3	90	130	367	277
„	„ dead ...	28	—	209	237		
„	female, alive...	29	4	99	132	359	
„	„ dead...	20	1	124	145		
widows	male, alive ...	115	35	11	161	359	299
„	„ dead ...	115	34	49	198		
„	female, alive...	120	32	15	167	299	
„	„ dead	78	20	34	132		

The foregoing table throws light upon the influence of polygamy on the proportions of the sexes, on fecundity and on the mortality of the children, but there are, of course, certain deductions to be made. As regards the number of children, it is certain that the average married life of, say, four wives, is likely to be shorter than that of a single wife, (6786)

and the precise deduction to be made cannot even be estimated. In the second place, by some curious accident, the grouping of all wives more than four together has masked the heterogeneous character of the figures as to the sexes of their children. Arranging Awka wives in two groups we find the following figures:—

No. of Wives.	Males alive.	Males dead.	Females alive.	Females dead.
5, 6 or 7 ...	60	129	61	64
or 189 males to 125 females.				
8, 9, 10, 11, 15 and 19 ...	30	68	38	60
or 98 males to 98 females.				

The figures for the other communities are:—

5, 6 or 7 wives, 31, 26, 24, 19, giving grand totals of 91, 155; 85, 83.

8 wives, 6, 2, 5, 1, giving grand totals of 35, 70; 43, 61.

The following table shows the proportions of the sexes in the births; allowance must, of course, be made for the small numbers dealt with in some cases:—

No. of wives.	Agolo.	Ododoma.	Awka.	Combined percentage.
1	51·5-48·5	47-53	60-40	49-51
2	54-46	46-54	51-49	51-49
3	53-47	44-56	55-45	52-48
4	51-49	53-47	58-42	55-45
More	57-43	—	57-43	—
Widows ...	54-46	57-43	—	—
Widowers ...	61-39	—	—	—

No. of Wives.	Agolo.				Ododoma.				Awka.		
	Total.	Males alive.	Total.	Females alive.	Total.	Males alive.	Total.	Females alive.	Total.	Males alive.	Females alive.
1	1.6	.9	1.6	1.1	1.5	.9	1.7	1.07	2.3	.85	1.6
2	1.6	.78	1.6	.56	1.6	.9	1.9	.4	1.7	.6	1.6
3	1.5	.6	.3	.7	1.5	1	1.9	1.3	1.3	.47	1
4	1	.5	1	.4	—	—	—	—	1.9	.71	1.3
5	1.6	.68	1.4	.6	.8	.6	.6	.4	.3	.3	.7
6	1.5	.75	.66	.38	.5	—	.82	.16	1.5	.48	1
More	1	.25	.74	.12	—	—	—	—	1.08	.35	1
Widows	2.6	1.3	2.3	.9	3.3	.7	2.1	1	2	.37	1.5

This table shows, (a) the total number of children borne on an average by each wife, (b) the total number surviving. Reduced to percentages the mortality figures are as follows :—

No. of Wives.			Agolo.	Ododoma.	Awka.	Average.
1	...	...	41-32·5	39-38	64-40	43-34
2	...	...	54-41·5	46-29	62-59	50·8-43
3	...	...	60-45	30-31	64-67	57-46
4	...	...	45-39	—	62-65	55-50
More	...	...	43-41	—	70-45	64-52
Widows	...		50-39	50-38·5	81-72	55-44
Widowers	...		55-40	—	—	—
All children	...		48-37·5	41-35	67-57	57·7-42·7

Possibly one cause of the high infant mortality is that women do not, as among the Edo, take their children to market, so that their natural food is not available.

The data were not collected in a form that shows the number of children borne by each wife in polygamous marriages; the following table therefore relates only to monogamous marriages; it is, however, possible that many of the women had been married more than once. [As regards fecundity there are at least two customary laws that bear on it, one is the rule that no woman may have more than nine living children, the other law that no woman may go on bearing children after her son's wife has become a mother.]

The following table shows the number of children born in each family in monogamous marriages :—

No. of Children.	Agolo.					
	Families.	Per cent.	Widows.	Per cent.	Widowers.	Per cent.
0	57	16	2	2.3	8	22
1	58	16.3	7	8	15	30
2	54	15.2	8	9.2	6	14
4	44	12.3	13	14.8	4	10
5	28	7.8	12	13.8	3	6
6	30	8.4	13	14.8	2	4
7	15	4.2	10	11.5	—	—
8	10	2.8	4	4.6	—	—
9	10	2.8	4	4.6	1	2
10	5	1.4	1	1.1	1	2
11	2	.5	4	4.6	—	—
13	—	—	1*	1.1	—	—

* Of these 12 were dead.

No. of Children.	Ododoma.				Awka.			
	Families.	Per cent.	Widows.	Per cent.	Families.	Per cent.	Widows.	Per cent.
0	10	12.4	1	5.5	2	6	4	20
1	13	16.0	—	7.0	7	21	3	15
2	14	17.2	—	—	4	12	2	10
3	16	19.6	1	5.5	4	12	1	5
4	3	7.7	2	11.2	8	25	3	15
5	7	8.7	5	27.8	1	3	—	—
6	8	10.0	4	22.3	2	6	2	10
7	4	5.0	1	5.5	2	6	2	10
8	3	3.7	2	11.2	—	—	1	5
9	—	—	1	5.5	1	3	2	10
10	3	3.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	1	5.5	1*	3	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	1*	3	—	—

* Of these 8 and 9 were dead.

COMBINED TABLE.

No. of Children.	Families.	Per cent.	Widows.	Per cent.
0	69	14·7	7	5·6
1	78	16·6	10	8
2	72	15·3	10	8
3	63	13·4	13	10·4
4	55	11·8	18	14·4
5	36	7·7	17	13·6
6	40	8·5	19	15·2
7	21	4·5	13	10·4
8	13	2·8	4	3·2
9	11	2·3	7	5·6
10	8	1·6	1	·8
11	2	·4	4	3·2
12	1	·2	1	·8
13	1	·2	1	·8

The data which I have been considering so far were not collected in a form that enables the sex of the first-born to be discovered. I recorded, however, a number of genealogies; the following table is based on them :—

Sex of first-born.	1st wife.	2nd wife.	3rd wife.	4th wife.	Others.
Male	45	16	9	5	1
Female	30	6	5	—	3

In the statistics previously collected in the Edo country precisely the same excess of males was found; but here, as we have seen, males outnumbered females among the

children as a whole and the figures for the first-born children do not differ markedly from the general average. In the Ibo country the matter is different; there is a slight excess of females in the children born in monogamy and the statistics as to the first-born child of the first wife are obviously not influenced by later polygamous marriages.

III.—RELIGION.

In many respects religion among the Ibo appears to take a different form from that which we meet among the Edo. We have, it is true, at the head of the pantheon a supreme god known as Čuku. There are a large number of demi-gods, known as *alose*, worshipped in much the same way as among the Edo.

There are a certain number of other powers, intermediate perhaps between Čuku and the demi-gods; as to whose position no precise statement can be obtained. Medicine, or magic, is resorted to by both groups and in both the worship of ancestors is common. Even, therefore, if we take account of the fact that the witch of the Edo people is replaced by the evil spirit of the Ibo, there appears to be a broad general resemblance.

When, however, we come to look into details the resemblance is less striking. Osalobwa figures in the creation myths of the Edo; he had regular worship in Benin city, and the long pole, which is his emblem, is a conspicuous feature in many villages; moreover, his name may daily be heard in the course of casual conversations. Čuku, on the other hand, seldom appears to figure in any creation myths; at any rate with one or two exceptions none have come to my knowledge. One exception is an ætiological myth explaining why the greater hornbill has a laughing note, and is for evidential purposes quite unimportant. It is worthy of note that the old men frequently say that they knew nothing of Čuku before the coming of the white man.

These statements, it is true, do not apply to Aguku, where Čuku is connected with the origin of kingship and of yams.

Whatever be the truth about the matter, Cuku appears to play a relatively unimportant part in the lives of the people. I have nowhere found any sacrifice to him.

Intermediate between Čuku and the alose come Abwala or Ainyañwu, Či and the ikenga (pp. 29, 30). Ainyañwu means literally the eye of the sun, and it is explained that he is the messenger of Čuku. His position is perhaps best explained by terming him a personal tutelary deity. In Qbu the ikenga takes his place.

When we come to the alose we find a very different state of things from what exists among the Edo. The demi-gods of the Edo are, according to tradition, human beings who were the comrades of a former king of Benin city, and their personal nature comes out rather strongly. When one talks about the alose with an Ibo, however, one feels that one has to do with extremely vague, almost non-personal powers. It is true that wives and children are attributed to such an alose, and in one dream that was related to me an alose is stated to have appeared to a man to announce that he was to succeed to a certain priesthood, but these facts are far from removing the impression of vagueness that clings to the alose.

Among the alose we find such powers as Aro, the year, various trees, such as Ojuku and Ngu, and various rivers such as Idimili; not only do we have the year, but the equally impersonal Obosinano, four days (*i.e.* of the week); and we have Agu, who really comes much closer to the evil spirits than to the demi-gods; for though a demi-god requires to be propitiated, he does not appear to act malevolently of his own free will. If anyone suffers from his anger it is because of some infraction of his privileges, such as unauthorized entry into his sacred bush. Agu, on the other hand, is a mischievous sprite who will spoil the yams and other crops and bring unlimited misfortune upon anyone that he chooses to play his pranks on. Sacrifices offered to Agu appear to be made invariably outside the house wall, precisely as are the Edo sacrifices to Esu. It is perhaps a little singular that Agu is a sort of tutelary deity of the doctors: if he pursues with mis-

fortune an ordinary individual until the limit of his patience is reached and no remedy can be found, it is a sign that the man should become a doctor.

It will be pointed out in the section on reincarnation that certain of the *alose* are supposed to be reincarnated, and this certainly suggests that they are conceived as personal; for although no details could be obtained as to the Ibo doctrine of the soul, mainly owing of course to their theory of reincarnation, it is clear from their belief in the *akalagoli* that they believe in a part of man which, though normally reincarnated later, may, under certain circumstances, maintain an unchanged form as an evil spirit.

The observances with regard to the *akalagoli*, as far as they consist in putting offerings in the road, do not differ very widely from the practices of the Edo, which are designed to keep witches at their distance.

I now turn to describe in detail a few of the religious rites.

The objects of worship may be classified under four heads, (a) *Čuku*, (b) *Alose*, (c) personal protective deities, and (d) ancestors.

As already explained there is, properly speaking, no worship of *Čuku*. The *alose* bear in some cases personal names, such as *Ngene* or *Ofufe*; their worship is conducted as a rule in an area of ground, frequently of considerable size, specially set apart for the purpose; it is often surrounded by a wall decorated with curious paintings (Plate VIII (a)).

Among the minor *alose* may be mentioned *Akwali*, which is sometimes simply a mound, sometimes a pillar surmounted by a human face and with other human emblems; the function of *Akwali* is to keep people alive and bring children.

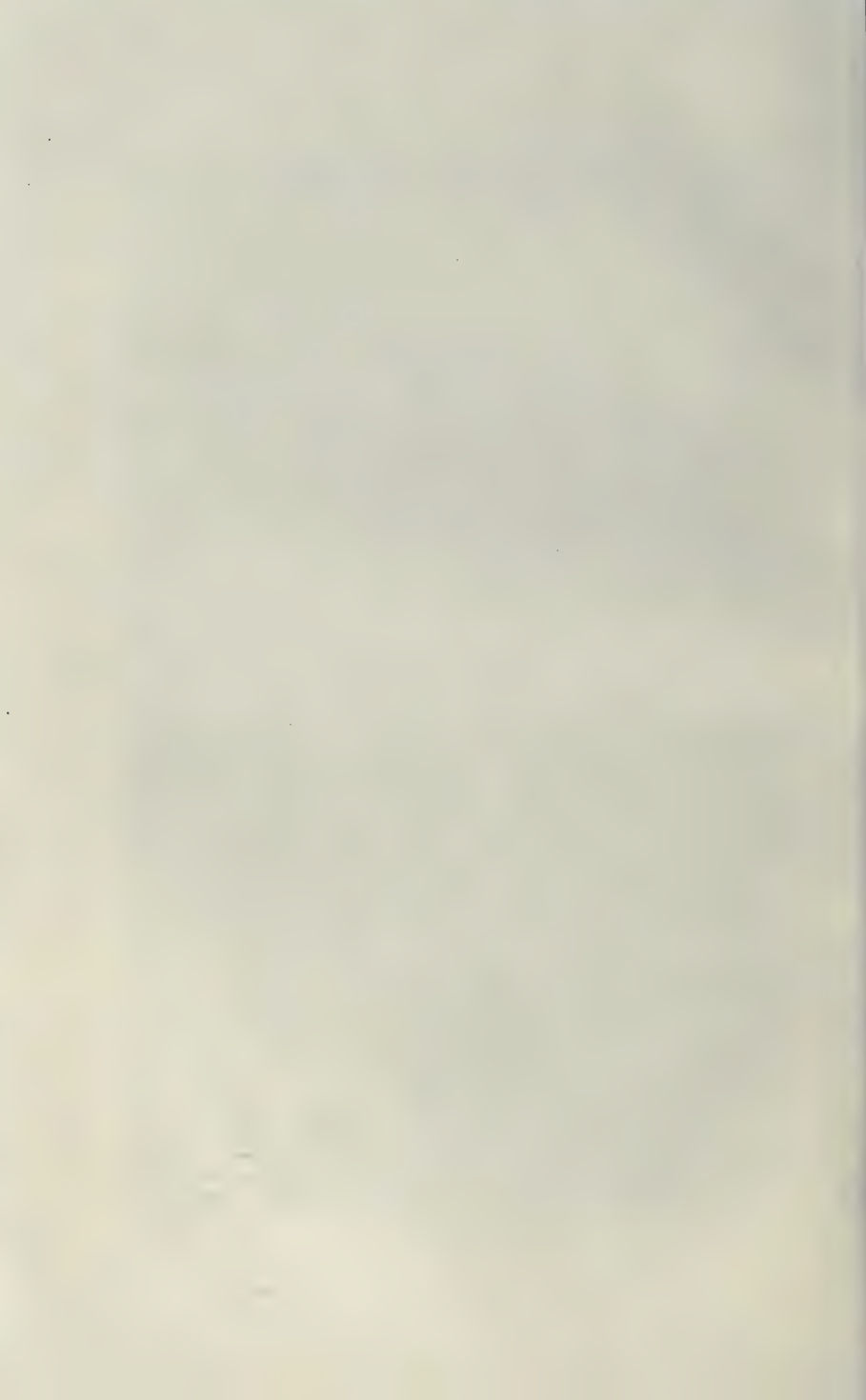
Aro (the year) is also found in every town; at the end of the year women carry old pots, clothes, baskets, etc., to the place consecrated to *Aro* and throw them away, in the belief that in this way they are ridding themselves of pain and sickness for the coming year. In some places the week (*obosinanq*) is among the *alose*.



(a) ARQ AT MBWAKU.



(b) AKWALI AT MBWAKU.

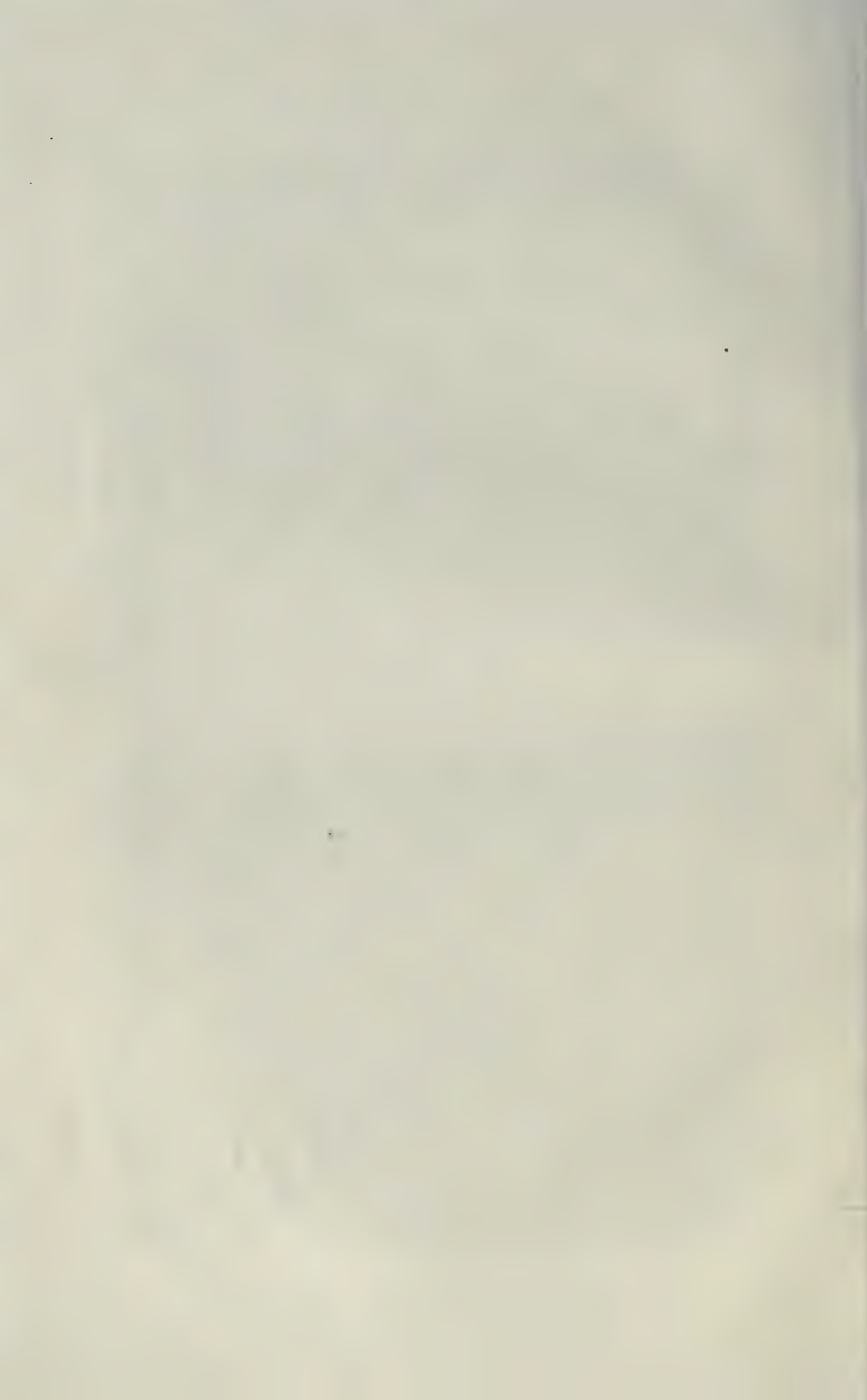




(a) AINYAÑWU AT AWKA.



(b) ANA AT NQFIA.



[Certain kinds of trees may be declared by the doctors to be Mwq or alose, such are Ojuku and Ngu.

A fact of some interest came up at Awka in connection with an alose; it was represented by an qbo tree and ngu, and it appears that about a year before I got there the tree had died, and the priest had died at the same time because the tree had died; the tree was said to have the life or breath of the priest in it; whether the tree should also die when the priest died, I was unable to discover; I was, however, assured that in some years no leaves came out on this ngu tree but the health of the priest did not suffer.

A highly important alose from the practical point of view is the Ana or earth; it will be shown in the section on Nsq Ani (p. 59) what laws are sanctioned by the Ana: precisely how these laws came into existence I never ascertained; but at Mbwaku I was informed that it was by a sacrifice to the ana, and a declaration that the desired law was forthwith to be observed.

For the abrogation of the law the procedure is similar; the Ézana or priest of the ana has to perform a sacrifice and he, or someone else, declares that the laws which they mention are thereby abrogated.

The personal tutelary deities are known as Ainyañwu or Abwala, Či and Ikenga. Ainyañwu is generally identified with the sun, and the name means eye of the sun; it is usually said to be the messenger of Čuku. At Awka there is an Ainyañwu which is common to several quarters; individual men also have their personal Ainyañwu.

The protective deity known as Či is common both to men and women; the woman brings her či from her father's house, often as soon as she has borne a child. If she becomes a widow the object representing her či is discarded and a new one is made in the house of the next husband.

A man's či is made at various times, sometimes only when he has reached a position of importance, sometimes as soon as he has married a wife and got a child.

Of less importance than either of these two is the Ikenga,

an image purchased in the market ; there is no ceremony of consecration beyond a sacrifice to it when it is brought home.

It has frequently been asserted that the negro will abandon his "fetish" as soon as it ceases to give him satisfaction ; the case already cited of the *či* is not on all fours, and with respect to other protective deities I have found practically no evidence that rejection is practised ; it is true that on one occasion an *ikenga* was brought to me by a man who said that its virtue was exhausted for him, but that its power would be renewed if I purchased it. I had, however, no evidence that it was the man's *ikenga*, and it appears probable that it was a discarded one, probably belonging to a dead man. For twelve days after a man's death they are put outside and subsequently thrown into the bush ; in more than one place I was assured that it was impossible to change an *ikenga*, that at most if a house were burnt out a new one may be purchased.

In the Efik language *Akaña* means the solemn promise made by a reincarnated man to return to the other world, this is possibly the same word as *ikenga*.

REINCARNATION.—Among the Edo-talking people there is a latent belief in reincarnation ; traces of it are not found by direct questioning but a record of burial songs and traditional beliefs reveals its existence. Among the Ibo, on the other hand, belief in reincarnation lies on the surface and is one of the cardinal facts of their daily life.

In ordinary circumstances, a doctor is called in to discover which ancestor is reincarnated in a child. He may divine in the ordinary way, or they may call over the names of ancestors, and when the child makes a sign, it is accepted as a proof that the ancestor is reincarnated.

I have also found the belief that the children themselves, as soon as they get sense, that is at the age of five or six, are able to say what ancestor they reincarnate. Proof of this is, naturally, very difficult to obtain.

Reincarnation is called "Changing world." It is usually

believed that in "changing world" a man remains a man, and a woman a woman, but at Awka I was told that change of sex was possible.

An ancestor may be reincarnated in more than one child; if he does not return to his own lineal descendants, a man will return in the family of a sister or a brother; occasionally, though descent in this matter is usually in the male line, children are believed to come from the world of the mother's ancestors. It is commonly believed that those who have no children become *akalagoli* (*q.v.*) or evil spirits; but views on this point are somewhat divergent. A ceremony connected with the belief in reincarnation is the following:—

When they ask a doctor who a child is, they take *oglisi* wood and make *okbensi*, or an ancestral image. A fowl is killed and the *okbensi* is kept for the child, who calls it his or her *či*. I did not ascertain to my satisfaction whether this ceremony was performed only when an ancestor was believed to be reincarnated, or whether it was performed in all cases; for children may come from the world of the *alose* or from the tree world but, apparently, they do not come from the animal world.

In addition to the ceremony mentioned above, an additional ceremony seems to be performed for a child who comes from the tree world; the trees in question are *ngu*, *akbo*, *ojuku*, and *qji* or *iroko*; *ngu* and *ojuku* children appear to be reckoned to the world of *alose*. If the tree is not otherwise sacred, the fact that a child is a reincarnation of that particular species does not make the species sacred. If the tree can be cut down without asking the doctor, any tree of the species may likewise be cut down, with the exception of the special one which the doctor has named as the counterpart of the child. When the doctor names this particular tree, chalk, seed yam, and a pot are offered to it. If this tree were cut down without sacrifice being offered to it, the child would die.

In the case of persons who come from the world of *alose*, reincarnation is, apparently, a matter of individual choice;

ordinary persons go on indifferently with the cycle of birth and death; people from the world of *alose* choose for themselves whether they come back; precisely what happens to them if they decide not to come back, I could not ascertain.

Belief in a future life is, in view of the belief in reincarnation, virtually non-existent among the Ibo so far as I could see, and no provision is thought necessary for those who have come to this world from the world of *alose*. The *alose*, as has been mentioned, do not strike one as specially spiritual in their nature but, from the belief in reincarnation, we may almost infer a certain amount of spirituality, using the term in a vague sense, for the child seems to be regarded as an emanation of the *alose* which may be reabsorbed after one, two, or more existences on earth.

In this connection, the belief in the divisibility of the ordinary human personality for the purposes of reincarnation is of interest.

It seems clear that the belief in reincarnation originated later than ancestor worship; it is clear that the adoption of reincarnation involves the belief that after a longer or shorter time the personality of the ancestors ceases to exist; if the belief in reincarnation existed before ancestor worship was known, it appears manifestly impossible that the belief in ancestor worship could have grown up. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that the explicit belief in reincarnation seems to be comparatively rare in West Africa.

In connection with the belief in reincarnation may be mentioned the practice of setting up *Ago* for a child; at Awka, a doctor says from whose world a child has come, whether the mother's or the father's, and mentions what animals it forbids; otherwise it follows its father; two calabashes with water, cotton tree leaves, camwood and palm leaf are then provided and the body of the child is touched with it, with the words "may the child not come from the world of sickness"; the objects are then thrown on the road and small children may pick them up.

An oglisi stick is planted in the ground to represent Ago, that is to say the person reincarnated. In the case of the boy it is put in the obu (men's house), in the case of a girl the mother keeps it. In some quarters the custom is performed some three years after birth; and if the doctors decide that the child is a reincarnation, it gets the name of the deceased; the oglisi (*Newboldia laevis*, *Seem*) which represents Ago is put near the Uwho, possibly another personal protective deity of the deceased.

In the Amenyi quarter of Awka I was told that Ago represented the sun, which brought the child, but this was clearly an error of translation. A father sacrifices to Ago for a son, but if the doctor says that the ainyanwu wants Ago from the husband's house, a hen is taken and Ago is removed. If the mother dies, the doctor decides whether Ago shall be removed or whether a substitute shall be made for the husband's house.

In Nkweli quarter of Awka the custom is that the child must be able to speak and say which ancestor he or she represents. When a wife gets a house of her own she carries her Ago to it in a basket; the oglisi representing it is thrown away at death; for the Ago goes to the next world with the dead person; the Ndičie, however, always remain to represent the ancestor. In Agolo Ago is in one quarter made only for those for whom it is divined; in another quarter it may be made for a child five weeks old.

At Qbu they call a doctor, and the whole family assembles; the father sits holding the child, whose feet must not reach the ground; the doctor divines and the head man takes qfq in his hands; they ask four times who the child is. A child from the world of alose tells the doctor who it is and no divination is needed. It never falls sick. At Nibo when a child is one or two years old the mother makes eight lumps of okwa and gives the doctor eight yams and forty-eight cowries. He takes the Ago to use it for divination; and if it is a girl asks her if she is her father's mother or her father's father's sister, or her mother's mother, or her

father's father's mother or her father's sister and so on until eight questions have been asked; then the doctor answers. The father kisses the girl and says "welcome."

At Adaji when a doctor divines, four oglisi sticks are planted in the courtyard, a cock and a hen are sacrificed by the head of the family and eaten by a few of the head men; the child concerned is called and told "you own this, you come from the world of so and so."

At Awka there is also a ceremony called Otiči, that is sacrificing fowls to Ago of each sept; all the children of the family get one fowl each and bring it to the head of the family. All men and boys carry oglisi in their hands and uwho are made there for the ancestors; the oglisi are put in front and the fowls killed. Part of the blood is sprinkled on the oglisi, the rest is kept in a wooden vessel; when this is full, the head wife of the head of the sept keeps it. Yams are prepared and oil beans, the offering to the oglisi is eaten as usual by the small boys. All the fowls are put in a heap and each man takes his own and cooks it at home; at sunrise they are taken back to the obu of the head man who calls upon his wife to bring the blood. Each man has cut up his own fowl and brings its head; the head man dips the head of his own fowl in the blood and sprinkles the blood on his oglisi, each man does the same; each man offers a head, neck and gizzard to the head, then he collects his own food and puts it in a vessel. The head offers a portion to anyone whom he pleases.

WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS.—The Ndičie, Mwq or ancestors are represented sometimes by long staves, sometimes by okbensi, some six or eight inches high; there are also the Ndičie of the quarter, often represented by a tree, and the Ndičie of each sept, kept in the house of the head.

At Awka long staves represent the Ndičie and a piece of oglisi tree has to be tied on to them; the ndičie images are made of odala; they say that at a feast the Ndēmwo, who are the same as the Ndičie, are among them; the eldest in each crowd at a general festival takes a handful of food



(a) STONE FOR OFFERING PALM-WINE TO NGENE AT NIBO.



(b) IKEŊGA AND MWQ.

and throws it away. A woman is usually buried among her own people, and if a doctor says she is going to be reincarnated, she is among the Ndeṃwọ; if she dies in her husband's land, she is among the husband's family's Ndeṃwọ.

At Adaḡi, okbensi are made of oglisi; they may be thrown away when they are old and replaced by others. At Qbu they say that obosinanọ, four days of the week, is the same as Ndičie: in the seventh month they offer a cock. A pot on two sticks is used for sacrifice to the Ndičie and the fowl's blood is put in it; another name for this pot is Iru, the face. A man may put water in it and wash his face, so that evil does not befall him on the road.

In addition to the regular sacrifices to the ancestors in the seventh month at Enugu, after which they cannot eat any more old yams, sacrifices to the ancestors are enjoined on various other occasions; twenty-eight days after the birth of a child, a goat must be given; anyone who has finished making a title (see p. 75) must give a goat; twenty-eight days after the completion of the Iči marks, a goat, yams, and palm oil must be offered; after the second burial of a man a new okbensi is made and put among the Ndičie; they have no Ndičie of the sept, but have Ndičie of the quarter, to which men sacrifice before sacrificing to their own. A woman's Ndičie is kept in her own house, where her husband or son sacrifices for her.

At Nqfia, the sacrifices to the ancestors are in the eighth month; women come back for the ceremony from other towns and go to their own families; those married in Nqfia, however, remain in their husband's families. In the ninth month the children of a dead mother come and sacrifice to her ndičie in a woman's house. At Amaṅsi the head of the sept alone sacrifices to the Ndičie; when the head of the sept dies, all the men of the sept collect and bring the Ndičie to the house of the new head.

SACRIFICE.—On the whole, the ritual of sacrifice is comparatively simple. I saw at Awka a sacrifice to prevent evil on a journey; a chicken was killed and the wings thrown

towards either side of the road, a small boy then ran with the body towards the market. An ikenga was put down and tobacco and cowries offered to it; the sacrificer then tied palm leaf on his right wrist and round the ikenga, saying, "Let the road be open for me, let me get money"; the man then lays palm leaves on his hands, and runs and throws them on the path.

A fuller description of this was afterwards given to me, from which it appears that the traveller has to prepare food and offer it to the ancestors; he has then to drag a cock all round the compound; after killing it and sprinkling the blood on the mwq, he takes it, together with one yam, outside the house; after putting fibre on the ground, he smears it with blood and then splits the yam on it saying, "I go on a journey, let no evil act be done against me, may I be prosperous." Then he splits the fowl in two and lays the two parts on the fibre; the wings are cut off and thrown to right and left for the akalagoli, then all present shout "Hu."

The boy who takes the body of the fowl throws it down in the road as an offering to Npu which corresponds to ċi; after this, the man takes a chicken, eight cowries, and chalk and yams, also a palm leaf (qmo). Ikenga is brought out and put on the ground and the doctor kills a fowl before it; after putting a palm leaf on his wrist, the man cuts the fowl and yams in two and takes half of them in his hand with four cowries in each, and shouts mbugbu one, mbugbu two, and so on up to ten, moving his hands horizontally at each number, this is because an ikenga must get things by ten; he runs along the path so that the ikenga may go on ahead and clear the road.

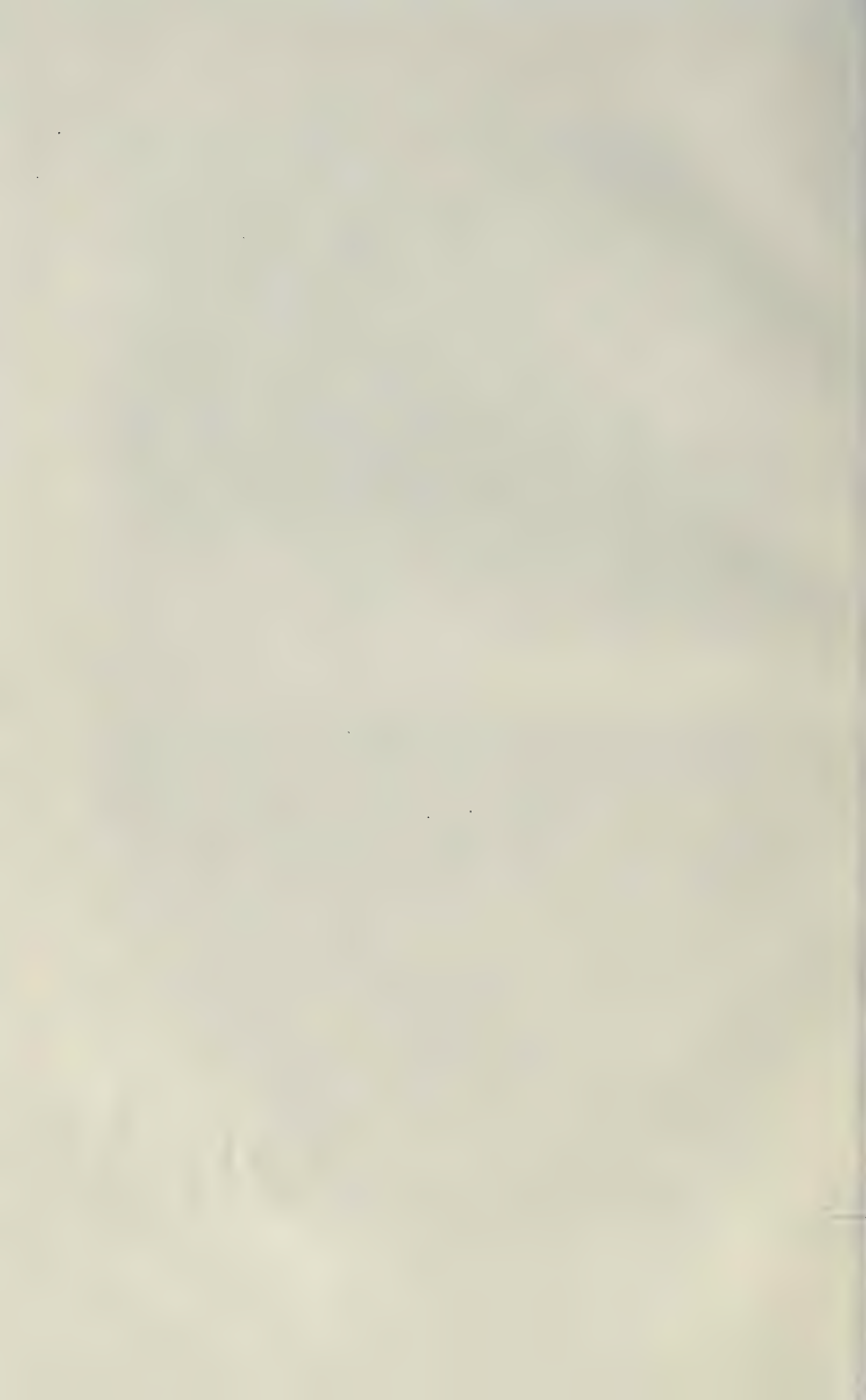
At Amqbia I saw a sacrifice to the Ndēmwo. The sacrificer first washed his hands and broke kola; then he picked the goat up and waved it towards the emblems of the ancestors; the victim was killed by cutting its lower jaw and prising it free with a flat piece of wood; then the arteries at the back of the mouth were cut; finally, blood was squeezed out and taken in a bowl to the house of the priest.



(a) UWHO AT AMAŊSI.



(b) IVEŊIQKO AT MBWAKU.



At Aguku I saw a sacrifice to Agu (Plate XI, (a)); oglisi pegs were put at the foot of an qbo tree, an image of Agu was put down in front with qfq; after this the sacrificers sang, beat the ground with qfq, killed a fowl, pulled out its feathers and passed round the head; a number of vegetables were also offered.

ALO.—In Awka an annual sacrifice is performed in the house of the head of each sept to the ceremonial staff called Alo, a fowl is killed and yams are cooked; when the yams are cut up and put before the Alo, small children eat them; each man of the family in turn brings a fowl.

AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES.—Various rites are performed in order to encourage the growth of the crops, the majority of them being connected with the growth of yams.

In most parts of the Awka district it is possible to see in the courtyard of each house an object called ivejiko; sometimes this is formed of the stumps of palm midribs planted in a semicircle against the wall, sometimes it is formed of other wood, and is a complete circle. In the latter case, all the yam peelings seem to be thrown into it, and it is supposed to have an influence on the growth of the yams.

It is, however, also associated with the owner of the house, also for after the ceremony of second burial has been completed, two fowls have to be taken to dig it up. The widow offers yams for the family, the wood may be used for any household purpose.

At Nibo, after making offerings to prevent ill-luck with the yams each man offers to ivejiko. On the following day the man takes kola and offers to the yams growing in the field, telling them to grow well. If the woman conceives on that night the child will grow as the yams grow.

Ivejiko is also one of the titles (see p. 75).

In addition to ivejiko, sacrifices are offered to Agu, who is represented, as a rule, by a stick or by four oglisi sticks placed outside the door; the reason for this is that Agu is a mischievous sprite who is believed to bring all sorts of misfortune upon people.

At Awka, before planting, the farmer sacrifices a fowl in his farm to Ndi Ago, that is the people in the farm; the dead people who originally owned it; these Ndi Ago are not Ndičie nor yet the Agu just mentioned, but the dead people who live in the farm. Burial took place in the bush formerly and their theory of reincarnation notwithstanding, the Ibo believe that the dead are there still. It is believed that if Ndi Ago do not get any offering, wild animals will eat up the yams.

As an example of the rites connected with Agu may be quoted the following. At Nibo they plant four oglisi pegs outside the house and sacrifice. In the field, they take two pieces of pot, four palm kernels, four palm nuts, four small faggots in a pot and hold one in each hand. They then call upon Agu to come, saying, "Look at your food, don't let bad animals or flies trouble my yams." For the Aĵago they make two obwaĵa, kill a chicken, and put half in each.

Agu is also put at the foot of an okwa tree, yams are offered and it is told not to kill persons, goats or fowls; okwa fruits are exceedingly heavy, and if they fall on a person's head may easily cause his death.

Although the sacrifice to Agu is almost invariably outside the house, in certain places, *e.g.*, Eḃeṃḃe, where the ceremonies are more elaborate, the sacrifice is performed in the court of the house.

At Aguku, oglisi pegs are planted at the foot of an qbo tree, and an image of Agu put in front, the sacrificer then blows his horn to sunimon Agu; after washing his hands, he puts down qf̄q and qtqñ. After this kola is offered, and all present dance, then the alo of the sacrificer are planted in the ground. The next thing is to offer a fowl, which is killed by gashing its throat, the feathers being pulled out and passed round the head; as usual, blood was dropped upon the images. After this offerings were made of the following, cassava, okwa, igu, nċa, fish, kola, obqgolū (leaf cut up), old yams (roasted).]

At Nimo and one or two other places I was told that a

man makes Agu for his dead mother; this is not, as might be imagined, the Ago connected with reincarnation, but appears to be a mischievous sprite. The procedure is as follows: he sends for his grandfather, if alive; eight oglisi pegs are cut and one big piece, four smaller ones are tied at each end of the latter, another peg is put a little distance away as ikenga (see p. 29), another is ísíagu, head of Agu; the main piece is called ekwensu agu; a fowl is sacrificed to it, which children eat, together with all vegetables, which children however, do not eat. I was definitely informed that this Agu spoils the yams, and when nothing will divert him from this occupation, the owner becomes a doctor, hence Agu is an alose; even a woman may become a doctor in these circumstances.

Sacrifices are also offered in the farm to any alose which happens to be near, and in some places all the alose receive offerings before yams are planted. At Nimo, after this ceremony, they are forbidden for a time to sell yams in the market, and koko yams, though other wares may be dealt in.

EVIL SPIRITS.—Among the Edo-speaking people evil spirits play a comparatively small part in the beliefs of the people; malevolence is feared chiefly from the witch.

Among the Ibo, on the other hand, the evil spirit known as akalagoli, ekwensu or ajqmwo excites the apprehensions of the people.

The akalagoli is said to be a person who had no wife, no child, and no money, and has committed suicide. They try to kill others after death, and more especially fortunate people.

The ekwensu is a man who has been killed with a rope or a knife; he tries to kill others; another kind of ekwensu is a woman who dies in pregnancy.

There is also the ajqmwo; he is a person who has died a natural death, but from some abnormality of disposition, after his death he tries to kill others. None of these people mentioned can be reincarnated, except a man who falls from a tree; he must say to Čuku, "What you did to me in the first world you must not do again." A drowned man can come back and, in fact, anyone who is a good man.

Various ceremonies are found, the object of which is to drive away or imprison beneath the ground one or other of these evil spirits. At Awka, there is a custom known as Abwõnuke; the skull of a he goat, a hen, a sheep, a male lizard, leaves of akolo and akukwa and a pestle, pieces of calabash, and one pot are taken. Ashes, river mud, the remains of food prepared the night before, pieces of mat, cloth and four ojuku nuts are provided. All are mixed up together, the sheep, hen and lizard are killed, and the whole tied up with mbwale-dānenu, and put into a hole outside the house with banana or oglisi wood; then a bow and arrows are taken, and men and women shoot into the bundle, the doctor buries it and says, "To-day I tie Abwõnuke bad spirit and bad man who is going to trouble me and my wife and my goats and my fowls and my cows and my father's people and my house, it is you that I tie, I take mud, shut your eyes."

Occasionally, one may see various devices in a house for catching akalagoli, or for driving them away. A pot with a broom in it is placed against the wall just inside the door; or a forked stick hangs from part of the framework that supports the roof of the wall and so on. The akalagoli is supposed to catch its foot in the fork of this stick—exactly as the witch is supposed to be caught in the witch's ladder in England—and every month a fire of palm flowers is lighted to expel the akalagoli. Ordinarily, however, it is held to be sufficient to light palm flowers over the spot where the akalagoli or ekwensu is buried and to renew the ceremony every month.

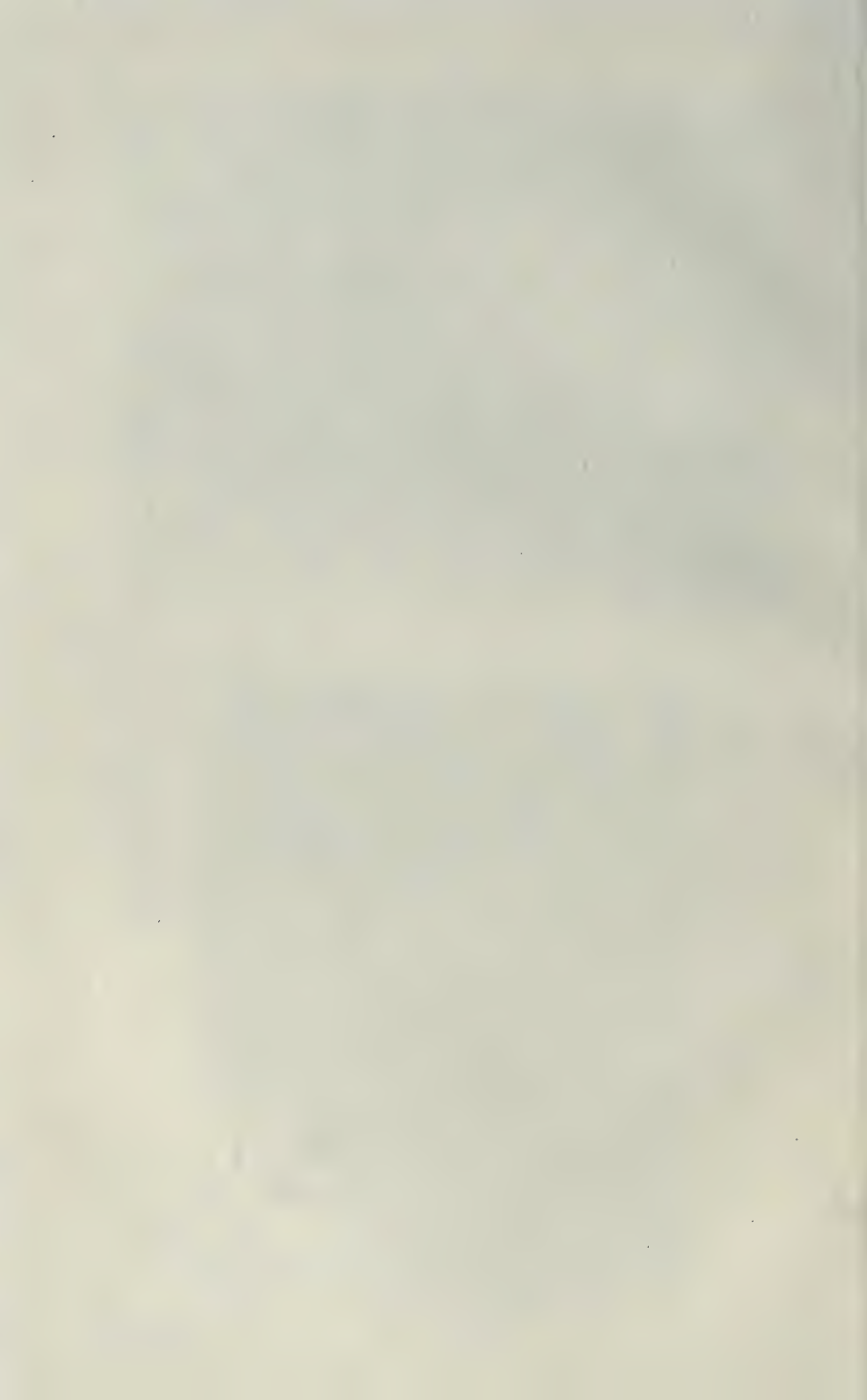
Occasionally a person dead within comparatively recent years can be identified as an akalagoli, the remedy is to dig the body up. When this is done the doctor gets medicine, draws a circle round the grave, plants his horn upon it and runs round it; all this to secure that the akalagoli does not escape. Then he takes a piece of earth and rubs the heart of the dead man and burns it. He cuts off the head and cuts up the body.



(a) OUTER WALL OF ENCLOSURE OF ALOSE NGENE AT NIBO.



(b) BURYING AKALAGOLI.





(a) SACRIFICE OF FOWL OVER AKALAGOLI.



(b) BURNING PALM-FLOWER ROUND AKALAGOLI.

It may happen that the trouble does not begin for several years ; in this case the bones alone are dug up and burnt or thrown into the water or both.

WITCHES.—Belief in witchcraft exists, but it is almost universally stated that witches are killed by the ana (ground) and can do no harm.) At Aguku, I got the following account of a witch (amwosu).

They catch a man by the nose, put their hands on his heart and take him out and kill him, a man cannot speak. In the case of a doctor, however, the medicine tells him and then the witch cannot move. Witches fly through the sky at midnight like birds and meet under a big tree.

At Nibo I got another account ; a doctor can see a witch at night, he draws a circle with his aba, and the witch is imprisoned until daylight and can then be killed in the form of a vulture ; it is not a real vulture, but a heart changed into a bird ; if the bird is killed the body lying senseless at home dies too ; conversely cutting off the head of the body would kill the vulture ; the vulture can be simply killed with a stick ; if it is detained the body would remain motionless ; in order to effect the transformation, the witch takes medicine and possibly smells it ; but on this point the doctor was uncertain ; only one person can be present at the transformation.

MASKS.—Masked figures called mauñ appear at various times, especially in June, and run round with a whip, sometimes also throwing down yams for Agu ; a mauñ is held to be a dead man and his real nature is carefully concealed from the women. He usually has a dress of cloth, with holes for the eyes and the whole of his body is covered.

Another masked figure which I saw at Awka wore a fibre dress, feathers on his head, a cloth mask for his face, and a dress called Ibenuku of raphia tree fibre from his waist to his knee. The mask is known by the name of Ojono, and it comes out when someone dies. Other masks represent women (Plate X, (a)), and are completely of wood, others again are of fibre (Plate X, (b)), others of net.

They usually speak in a whistling sort of tone, and this is produced by taking a small piece of wood in the mouth with spider's web at each end. Before he is initiated into the knowledge of the *maun*, a boy has to pay a fee of perhaps ten shillings.

The word *maun* seems to be derived from *mwa*, person, (not found), and *onwu*, dead; just as *mwadu* (man), is derived from the same, and *do* or *du*, living.

OATHS.—In addition to the oath taken for an *alose* which calls upon it to kill a man if he swears falsely in giving witness, there is another kind of oath known as *ebwando*, that is joining life together.

At *Awka* if two members of a family have a quarrel they meet when they wish to come to an agreement and say "whichever sees a thing that can kill us if he does not tell the other let the *alose* kill him"; eating kola together completes the ceremony. It may also be used by a man who fears that his wife will kill him.

In *Ogbu* I was told that *ebwando* was made only by a son-in-law and a father-in-law; each takes his own *alose* and swears in the presence of the family, sacrificing a goat. There is also a ceremony called *enyinenyi*; two friends can swallow a portion of the image of an *alose*, so that if either takes poison to kill the other he must die. They have another oath called *ebwando*; this is sworn by one who takes charge of a cow if he allows anything to happen to it.

At *Aguku* they say that not only all *alose*, but also *qtqn* and *qfq* are brought to the ceremony. The *ebwando* oath may be extended to cover the case in which one friend sees a danger for the other but does not tell him.

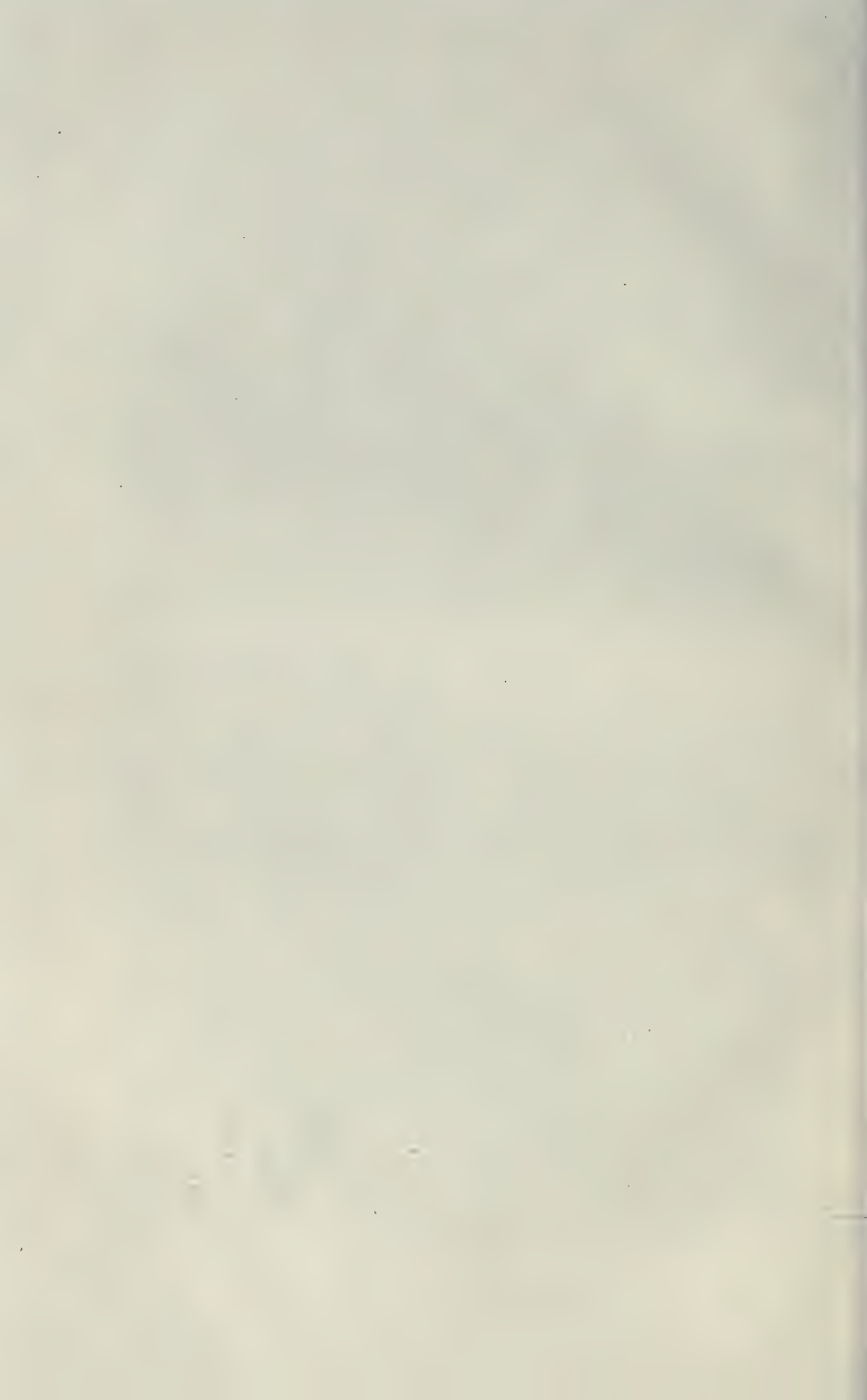
Two towns can also make friendship; one man from each town goes half way towards the other, taking *oglisi* leaves with them; the first man picks up sand and says "If we in all our town see anything which will kill you, and do not speak out, let the *Ajana* kill us"; then he puts sand in the leaf; they exchange leaves and take them home—where they are hung up; on such an occasion an *alose* is not used.



(a) MAUN.



(b) MAUN.





(a) SACRIFICE TO AGU.



(b) CHIEF ONYESO WITH OPO, OTON, AND BAG.

At Nqfia the formula was, "I will not give you poison, if I do, may the alose kill me; if I sell one of your family who takes refuge with me, may the alose kill me, if you give me goat or fowl or cow, and I injure it for nothing, may the alose kill me, if I want to take your wife and give her to another without repaying the price, may the alose kill me."

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.—A very important ceremonial object is that known as qf̣. It is made at Aguku of okba, kola leaves, chalk, n̄gu, the blood and feathers of fowls, the blood of cows, and is formed into one lump with mud, with qf̣ wood as a handle. To consecrate it an offering is made to ancestors and all dead kings.

To make qtqn, the following objects are used; eight yams, a number of cowries, eggs and qbqrqtq leaf, which is given to the blacksmith to put on the staff, of which it forms a part (Plate XI).

A doctor's ceremonial staff is usually made of iron with a knife at the top and four bells underneath, between which is placed some medicine, lower down are four more bells; when he requires to use it, he walks about beating it on the ground.

In addition to the okbens̄i various objects are used for the cult of ancestors; sometimes a dish, used for offering food; sometimes a copper bracelet; a large number of other ceremonial objects are in my collection at Cambridge.

MAGIC.—There are a number of things or preparations known as medicine, but on the whole the role of medicine in the Ibo country seems to be a smaller one than among the Edo.

Certain precautions have to be taken by the man who makes medicine, a doctor at Ifite Nibo told me that a man preparing medicine must not drink water, nor coconut water, nor palm wine, nor eat palm oil.

Medicine and charms are used mainly for the protection of the fields, which they are supposed to do either by causing sickness to the man or by making him forget his object when he goes upon the farm; other medicines are made for the

cure of sickness ; at Mbwaku I saw hundreds of small huts and pots prepared by the doctors to cure an epidemic of oṭolo which had raged a few months before I was there ; oṭolo is a disease resembling dysentery in some respects, and the amount of money thrown away in this way must be very large.

Another kind of medicine called Očasi (night watch) is said to call a man when thieves try to enter his house.

An interesting kind of medicine against thieves is one which has European parallels ; the doctor puts a broom in the pot, and when the wind blows, it shakes, and drives thieves away. A doctor of Ifite Nibo sold me a small charm of a similar kind, now in the Cambridge Museum, the object of which was to keep away witches.

Of rain charms I heard very little ; a doctor is said to be able to cause rain and stop rain. If he pours water from the river on the medicine used to stop the rain, rain will fall.

At Nimo, the medicine known as agadinwainye (old woman) was, curiously enough, used for war. A dog, a hen, a cock that had not crowed, a small he goat had to be provided for it, a doctor sang and danced as he made it, and it is hung from the wall in a long calabash with beads, chalk and a bell in it ; the doctor also makes a heap of mud on the ground and a small house over it ; £1 is paid after a year if it is satisfactory.

One other kind of medicine may be mentioned called Oguneče; this helps a woman in the market, if anyone takes her things and does not pay ; it helps her to remember, and it is said to be good for the memory generally. I offered £10 to the maker if he would guarantee a good effect upon my staff, but unfortunately no observable results were obtained.

HUNTING.—Hunting customs seem to be comparatively rare except as regards the killing of leopards.

At Awka the man told the head of his house who sacrificed a ram and a cock, the skin went to the head of the family. At Aguku the Ézènrì got the skin, the head, one leg and the chest, the hunter does not carry the leopard



(a) CHARM AGAINST THIEVES.



(b) NGIGE, CHARM AGAINST THIEVES.

himself but two men carry it on a bier ; the flesh is divided, but women and young men may not eat ; the hunter puts eagle feathers in his hair and does no work for twenty-eight days.

Another account, however, says that no Aguku man could eat a leopard ; they took their share but sold it to other towns. At Ugwqba the killer of a leopard may not go to the Ajana for one year ; the hunter has to sit down for twenty-eight days without working and may eat only such food as has been put in a pot and hung over the fire ; he sleeps in a good house and people watch, so that other leopards may not come and kill him. On the twenty-eighth day he takes the leopard's skin to market and sacrifices are offered to an ɛbijago tree, which is regarded as ekwensu.

At Mbwaku the killer of a leopard may not eat its meat ; but must kill something for twenty-eight days every day, even if it is no more than a fly.

In the case of a big animal the partition of it is carefully designated. One leg went to the sept, the tail and chest to the head of the sept, the jaw to the women, the spine to the father-in-law, the waist to the wives, a leg and other parts to the mother, and the rest to the hunter ; the mother divided her share with her people.

I got an account of hunter's medicine at Ugwqba ; a small palm tree is taken and hollowed, chalk, a calabash, corn and a pot are put inside, and it is planted in the house and left open ; when the hunter wishes to go on the path, palm wine that has not touched the ground is poured in ; and at night the hunter kills a white fowl ; when the medicine smokes he takes a gun and if he kills an animal, the doctor gets his pay.

OMENS, BIRDS AND ANIMALS.—Although belief in omens is not very conspicuous, enquiry shows that many portents are recognized ; a black bird (nnoniɔ) with a crest on its head is held to portend a big war in Awka ; the owl, death or sickness, and a small bird called kwaumbedekwaum, which they interpret to mean "every evening die," is

supposed to portend death, especially if it cries at mid-day.

In Enugu they believe in a bird called the bird of Mwq; it sits in a very thick tree and is said to follow the mwq to come and take a man; only one mwq can take a man; when people are under the ground they are mwq and alose. This account, however, seems rather suspicious and seems to have a tincture of Christian teaching. If a bush cat enters the house and cries in the morning they reckon it as an akalagoli and take the usual steps; the smoke of palm tree flower is said to drive the akalagoli to the sky, where they live; when a monkey cries at midnight it has seen an evil spirit; if a man or woman is sick in a house near they take him or her to another house. The mwq follow the owl, and if its cry is heard it is an ill omen for the man of the house. If a millipede comes into the house at night it is an akalagoli; a bird called nnonoičo, like a parrot, cries at midnight sometimes, and that means death; the only favourable omen seems to be when a python enters the house.

PERSONAL OMENS.—If the lower eyelid twitches it means lamentation and death, when the upper eyelid twitches it means that the person will see something. When someone sits down and his leg twitches something will happen. If you knock the big toe of your right foot near the market you will get money; the left foot is a bad omen, but it is good to knock the left toe against the right foot. Knocking of the right foot is also interpreted to mean that its father loves the person more than the mother, the contrary is the case with the left foot. If a bee hums in a person's ear in the market there will be trouble, if in the house a man will drink palm wine.

In Nibo, in counter distinction to Enugu, if a python comes into the house it is a bad omen.

In addition to omens there are the regular practices of divination. An ikenga, qfq, tortoise-shells and an object known as okbata, which is said to represent Ago, are put

down ; the tortoise shells are beaten and various signs made and then if anyone touches the doctor with a single cowry he must prophesy for him ; they also have the well-known palm nut divination.

IV.—PRIESTLY KINGS.

The Èzènri, or King of Nri, a town otherwise known as Aguku, is a somewhat striking figure. He is dressed in a long blue gown and on his head is a tall cowhide cap surrounded by eagle's feathers; behind him walks a child with a double bell. He rarely leaves his own town after the first year of his kingship; but, when he does so, he is always accompanied by the servant bearing the small bell; if he meets anyone on the road whom he wishes to salute, he takes the bell and strikes the two notes upon it. In his own house, or in the town of Aguku, a large single bell is used and, when the Èzènri strikes this, all the people present clap their hands.

He is the spiritual potentate over a large extent of the Ibo country, and so great is the awe which he inspires that recently, when, probably, for the first time in history, an Èzènri entered the native court of Awka while a sitting was going on, the whole assembly rose and prepared to flee.

The office is not hereditary and is not even confined to one family; the selection lies to a certain extent in the hands of the doctors. It appears that the candidate whom they name, may refuse; but I could hear of no case in which this had been done. The doctors, however, appear to be bound by certain rules in their selection; and it is as interpreters of portents, rather than as electors, that they fulfil their office.

There may be a long interregnum before a new Èzènri is selected, because the right kind of manifestation has not come. It naturally suggests itself, that the doctors are waiting until the bribes have reached a sufficient amount; but this explanation seems to me to be absolutely excluded.



(a) ÉZÈNRI SOUNDING HIS BELL.



(b) ALOSE NGENE AT AGUKU.

The present Èzènrì appears to have been an exceedingly poor man before his selection; and it may be added that since the coming of the government his position has changed considerably for the worse.

Nrì Alike gave me the following account of how he came to occupy the post. After performing the Ō ceremony (p. 76), bad luck fell upon him and he went to Nogidi to consult a doctor, who said that he was to go on with the ceremonies; he replied that he had no money, but the doctor encouraged him by saying that an alose named Ebaba was looking for him. He was told to offer a fowl to the Ainyanwu of this alose, to Ngu, to Ana and to Oyi, and to kill a ram to the ana of the alose. He replied that they had not got this alose. Thereupon the old people were consulted and they said that he must bring Ebaba; and one prophesied that Alike was to be the Èzènrì.

One night, Ènwelana, the last Èzènrì, appeared to him and said that he was the chosen man; thereupon he proceeded to offer sacrifices. In the first place he took a goat and a fowl to Nrì Namoke near the Onitsha road, and the same to Nrì Ainyamata; other sacrifices were offered to Nrì Bife and various alose. Then he went to Onyeso, son of the last king, and killed a goat and hen which were eaten by Obago quarter; thereupon the regular ceremonies began, of which a detailed account will be given later.

I obtained three lists of Èzènrì; a few of the names, which numbered in all twenty, appeared in all of the three lists and the names of the first and second Èzènrì seem to be beyond doubt. The order of the remainder is quite uncertain, and it is not until Alike's predecessor, that we reach firm ground again.

LIST OF KINGS OF NRÌ.

1. Nrì Namoke.
2. „ Bife.
- „ Fenenu.
- „ Ainyaboa.

Nri ĴimiĴĴ.

„ Apia.

„ Alikenri.

„ Ainyamata.

„ Omalo.

„ Ezqno.

„ Ago.

„ Okbakbo.

„ Omalonoinyoso.

„ Ifikanum.

„ Ĵvuzo.

„ Ewenata.

„ Ezimilo.

„ Eñwelana (father of Onyeso).

„ Alike (now living).

The traditional account of the origin of kingship is that Ĵzènri and Ĵzadama came from heaven and rested on an ant heap; all was water. Ĵuku asked who was sitting there and they answered "We are the kings of Nri and Adama," there-upon Ĵuku and the kings talked. After some conversation Ĵuku gave them each a piece of yam; yams were at that time unknown to man, for human beings walked in the bush like animals.

After eating his portion, Ĵzadama went to ask for more, Ĵuku gave him another piece and instructed Ĵzadama to tell Ĵzènri to send his eldest son and daughter. The Ĵzènri sent them and Ĵuku told them to bring a big pot, which he sent back again. The Ĵzènri was to plant this pot wherever he chose and no one was to look into the pot for twelve days; when they looked in and saw yams growing they went to Ĵuku and told him, and Ĵuku said, "Plant them, put sticks, and lift up the runners." The Ĵzènri sent a message that the ground was too wet, and he was told that he must send to the Awka people; they took their blacksmith's bellows and blew till the ground was dry. When the yams were full grown the Ĵzènri shared them out. The Awka people

made q̄t̄q̄n and Nri people took q̄t̄q̄n and put alose and aḵana everywhere (for other legends see p. 137).

Another account said Dim was king of Adama though he was not like the Èz̄enri. Adama have no king now, they say, because they are "women," *i.e.*, because they supply the king with servants, viz.:—small boys below the age of puberty, whom the king terms "wives."

Diodo quarter had a king also, but when he lay dying Nri Namoke called Nri Bife, saying, "Take alo, my child, and go." Nri Namoke was king of Diodo, but after this Nri alone had a king.

The ceremonies which lead up to the investiture of the Èz̄enri are lengthy and complicated; they include a progress round the various towns which acknowledge him and sacrifices to the principal alose, a residence in the Adama quarter of Aguku for one year, the subsequent erection of a house, clearing of a farm, and making of a road; and finally the rite of second burial during the king's lifetime. After this his wives perform the proper mourning ceremonies and carry a round basket to market, which is ordinarily forbidden to women until they are widows.

When the Èz̄enri is actually dying an Adama man must go and touch his face with q̄f̄q̄, otherwise he cannot die; this q̄f̄q̄ appears to be put away in the onq̄ngo (sleeping room) until his successor sends to the son of the dead man to ask him to permit the Adama people to remove it. In this removal of the q̄f̄q̄, seems to lie the essential features of the coronation.

When the king is dead no one of his family and no Aguku man, except from the Adama quarter, may see him; his body is buried in the Onq̄ngo.

There is frequently an interregnum of considerable length between successive kings. In the absence of a king the Adama people seem to take his place and sacrifice to Nri Menri, the ndiöie of the old kings. How far they perform the other duties of a king I did not ascertain satisfactorily.

The Èz̄enri claimed that he had to settle disputes in the (6786)

territory that acknowledged him, *i.e.*, as far as Amañsi in the east, Agoleri in the north, Umučuku in the south. How far precisely he is recognized in the west I did not ascertain. He mentioned among the towns subject to him, Asaba, Isele, Agbor, and the land as far as Idú (Benin city), but I have no evidence that Nri men go nearly so far west. So far as I could see no disputes were referred to him at all, but an important function that he fulfilled was to vary or abolish the Nsq Ani (p. 59) by means of sacrifices, which could be performed, either in the particular place which wished to make a change or in Aguku itself in the presence of representatives of all places which wished for the change. The sacrifice was not performed by the Ẹ̀zẹ̀nri himself, but in Aguku by the Ẹ̀zana in the presence of the Ẹ̀zẹ̀nri. In other places by an Nri man or by the Ẹ̀zana in the presence of an Nri man.

Another function performed by the king is that of promoting the growth of yams and securing an abundance of palm wine, for which special ceremonies are prescribed.

As servants the Ẹ̀zẹ̀nri has boys of the Adama quarter, who are called his wives; as soon as they are of age they must tie on a loin cloth and leave his service.

The king is compelled to carry out the burial rites of any of his servants who die. A price is paid for a servant exactly as for a wife, and if the servant runs away the price is not repaid.

Adama people are said to eat the property of Nri because they are bigger than the king; whether this means more than that they get the property from the king's onqngo and his sleeping-room, I could not ascertain.

As often happens in the case of spiritual kings; the Ẹ̀zẹ̀nri is subject to numerous ritual prohibitions. He may not see a corpse, even of one of his own children. If the king sees a dead body he must take an egg, pass it before his eyes and throw it away. He may not see an alose carried along the road, or, if he does, he must sacrifice to qf̣ and alo. After his consecration he does not see his mother; his son will

undertake the burial rites, or, if there is no son old enough, her family. No Aguku man may touch Nri menri nor the king's alo, for it would kill him. No one of the king's wives may enter the room in which his alo is kept. No one may take corn into the house in which the alo is kept, for they would fall sick.

A woman who has not washed in the morning may not salute the king nor come to his place. Until she has washed, a king's wife may not salute him, which she does by clapping her hands.

The king may not touch the water of the lake with his foot. He may use it for drinking and washing, but it must be carried to his house by small boys and girls. When water is being carried up for the king, the children are not to speak on their way back; if they speak the water is to be thrown away. When the king is bathing no one is allowed to rub his back for him. Only Adama people may enter the bath-house, but the bath water is thrown away by the king himself. When the king gets up in the morning he may not go out without washing his feet, hands, and face.

His wives are not allowed to wash with other women. No one is allowed to step over his wives' legs, nor may anyone commit adultery with them.

The shaving of his head is attended with various ceremonies. Yams are roasted and fish and meat prepared for an old woman. She takes a rod and eats the food trans-fixed on it while she is shaving his head. This she does as a sacrifice for Čuku and the mwq. The hair is put in the bush on a wooden shelf resting on four posts by the king himself: no one else may touch it. No one may enter the room where he is being shaved unless it be one of his servants. The king himself must remove his cap on this as on other occasions. It appears his wives also may now shave his head.

A widow, for whose husband the rite of second burial has not yet been performed, may not come to the king's house and the king may not speak to her.

The rules with regard to touching the king or using his seat are severe. No adult may touch him when he is sitting down, and no young man may touch his skin under any circumstances. The *Ẹ̀zẹ̀nri* will even refuse to take an object from the hands of a young man. On one occasion I had taken his photograph and prepared a print of it, but he refused to take it from the hand of my assistant, indicating that it was to be put upon the table for him to take up. He did not object, however, to take it from my hand.

He may not sit upon the ground, but a mud seat with a mat is not forbidden to him. Besides the king himself only young children may use it. He may not use the same stool as anyone else.

If a friend of the king eats food in his house he must not wash his hands after it, only rub them; if he washed his hands there would be a famine in the land. Nor may he lick his fingers: the result would be the same.

The king does not eat in the house of another, but he may eat kola and drink. If he is to eat kola, a child or a woman may break it for him or give him palm wine. If he breaks kola himself, no one else may eat it. He does not eat kola which has been offered as a sacrifice.

Certain kinds of food are forbidden to the king. He does not eat cassava nor banana. If he eats banana he must wash his mouth. He may, however, eat plantain. No one may see the king eat, and no boy above the age of puberty may cook for the king, nor may any woman; small girls, however, may do so. He may eat palm nuts. He also forbids koko yams and a kind of yam known as *qna*; he may, however, eat *igu*.

When the king is about to eat and after he has eaten, the double bell is sounded, which is beaten by a small child.

He may eat kola, or dried meat, or fish in public, but would have to cover his mouth.

When a boy cooks for him he may not taste anything. The king throws four pieces of food as an offering to the *Ndičie*. The Adama boy who serves him puts out four

pieces of mashed yam, and the king may not eat more. If it is not sufficient, or if he wishes to make some complaint, the king points with his left hand. If he speaks, his complaint is limited to the words, "This Adama boy." The remains of his food were formerly thrown away or eaten by the Adama boys. But he has now offered a goat and a hen to the Ajana so that his own children may be permitted to eat the remains of the food.

If he attends a festival at which food is cooked by women, his share is not taken him but given to other people.

When the king begins to eat, his servant says, "Onye ekunoku kannam Nri ri ago." "Onye ekunoku kanni eze ri ago, *i.e.*, "Let no one talk: let my father Nri become a leopard." "Let no one talk: let the food of the king become a leopard."

[If a leopard is killed its body is brought to the king. It is called his son. There is an obvious connection between this and the name of the town Aguku, which means "big leopard."]

After these words have been spoken no one may open his mouth until the king has finished and the bell has been rung again.

When the servant has washed the pots, the dirty water and any remains of food are thrown away; the ashes of the fire are also thrown in the same place.

The king is not allowed to eat in the house of any man, except in Umudiana.

When the king's farm is being planted, he must plant either yams or koko yams in a single row, *i.e.*, after having finished one row he may not turn back and begin another row on the same day. When he is working on the farm the king may not use a hoe, because in bending down he would look backwards.

Before the coming of the white man he was not allowed to cross water, but he may sleep away from home; he may not climb a tree, nor carry a load on his head; he may not enter a woman's house, nor go to market; he may not see an aloose image made of wood. If a dog enters his house it

must be driven out or killed; its body is carried out and everything which it touches. The Eze may not cross the door-frame, it must be taken out, or, failing that, he may climb over the wall.

He may not lament for his children, but he mourns for his wives like an ordinary man. If they die a "bad death," sacrifice is offered to Ana in his house by the Adama people. They also sacrifice to the Mwq, and a fowl is sent to the Ézana.

When the king is sick, his wives are allowed to tend him. His tenure of office is unlimited; sickness and old-age are not disqualifications.

It may be mentioned in connection with the Ézèri that the sacrifice of abrogation of any law has to be performed by the Ézana or priest of the ground; he has also to offer sacrifice when any law has been violated. There is usually an Ézana in each quarter as well as for a whole town; the mode of succession is similar, so far as I could learn, to that of the Ézèri; anyone who is forced to be Ézana without divination would die. Occasionally the eldest son of the old Ézana succeeds, but he is in any case elected by a doctor.

The Ézana of the Agolo quarter of Awka gave me an account of how he came to be Ézana. He was already an old man when I saw him, but he had only succeeded about twelve years previously, for the post is a responsible one and a young man could hardly take it. He dreamt, he told me, that the Ana came to his house and called him, saying, "I am hungry; I have come to you to provide for me. If you fail I will punish you." He was like a man but shone like brass, and was as big as a house.

In the morning he went to a doctor and told him his vision; thereupon the quarter brought a cow and other victims to be sacrificed to the Ana. After washing his hands in a basin, in which kola nuts were placed, he broke them and put two down for the Ana, which is represented by two oglisi trees. The victims were offered and blood sprinkled on the oglisi and on the ground; only the Ézana

and Nri men ate. An Nri man has to be summoned to tie the cords on the ankles at the Ihuana; before this two goats and two fowls are sacrificed to the Ndičie Ęzana: he remains at home for two months and then a feast is made; the women of his family and their husbands come with presents: after this he is Ęzana.

In addition to the functions mentioned above, he has to decide where the farms are to be made and chooses his own farm, which is worked for him by men of the different families. When the new yams come in, a sacrifice is offered to the ana, but the Ęzana eats the first yam prepared on the spot the day before by his daughter or sister. He and the Nri man precede the others and eat yams and fowl; after this there is a general feast.

The Ęzana is subject to a great number of prohibitions; he may not sit upon the bare ground nor upon the same skin as another person; earth may not be thrown at him nor may he be assaulted; he may not sacrifice at night nor travel at night; he may not see a corpse, much less carry one. When he meets a body on the road the Ęzana of Ačala passes his wristlet over his eyes and calls an Nri man to sacrifice a chicken; he may not carry things on his head nor climb palm trees, nor eat cassava, nor things that have fallen on the ground. No one must drink palm wine nor eat food before him; no one but his wife may cook for him. In Awka a dog that enters his house is killed and thrown out.

He may not touch a child whose head has not been shaved. Except on the first day after birth he may not enter the room for twelve days; he may not put on a mask, nor touch one, and a masked man may not enter his house; as a rule, he is not allowed to sleep in another man's house nor eat there; his wives are not to allow the ashes to remain until morning, for the ancestors would punish them; at certain times his wives are not allowed to cook for him and other menstruous women may neither salute nor touch him; his wives must wash before returning into the house in the morning. He is safe from seizure, safe in war. In addition

to the ordinary forbidden animals the Èzana of Awka does not eat eggs, all birds, dog and ewe sheep, bush-buck, civet cat, giant bush rat, bush fowl and yams that it has touched, ground squirrel, and a kind of fish. In one quarter of Awka, however, the Èzana may sacrifice eggs and eat them, and bush fowl is the only bird he may not eat. In Agolo he forbids snails and a tuber called qna, like a yam ; he may not eat a cock before it can crow, nor a snake.

If his wives do not wash after going out it means that they wish his death ; they may not cook for him ; if they commit adultery they must come to the Èzana and bring cowries, a ram and a fowl and offer excuses ; all the quarter join in levying a fine upon the lover.

At Nneni he may not eat anything sacrificed on account of the violation of a prohibition, nor may he cross a river until a sacrifice has been performed by an Nri man. The corpse of a dead Èzana is not carried on men's heads but on their shoulders.

With regard to the shrine of the ground (ana), ewe sheep, dogs, cocks that have not crowed, may not be sacrificed, and only such rams as are white or partly white.

At Nqfia and Amañsi customs of wrestling and dancing are found in honour of the ana, but at different times of the year.

V.—NSQ ANI.

A characteristic of the life of these Ibo is the existence of numbers of forbidden acts, known as nsq ani, which may conveniently be termed bans, as, strictly speaking, they are not tabus, though that term would be applied to them by many authorities. These bans affect matrimonial relations, and in fact sexual relations generally, the birth and behaviour of children and, among adults, more especially of women; they also deal with animals in their relation to man and in their relations to their own and other species; more rarely they bear upon astronomy or botany. The greater number of them seem to be known wherever I went in the Awka district, though it was difficult to ascertain this with certainty without putting leading questions. In some cases one town permits what another forbids; but this may well be due to the fact that a sacrifice has been offered to the ajana by a man of Aguku, this being the recognized means of varying or abolishing the bans.

As to how they came into existence I got no precise information; At Aguku, the belief appeared to be that they had existed from time immemorial; elsewhere, especially at Mbwaku, it appeared that a ban could be established by offering a sacrifice to the ajana and reciting the action that was to be forbidden; as there was no mention of the services of an Nri man in this connection, the ignorance of the Aguku people is perhaps explained. These bans are of importance in two ways; in the first place owing to the amount of infanticide which they cause, in the second place by the destruction of livestock that they cause, firstly, as a direct result of the violation of a ban, secondly, in the purificatory sacrifices enjoined as a reparation whether animals are or are not concerned in the original violation of the ban.

So far as the Awka district is concerned the bans were with one exception abolished in due form in August, 1911; but a change of this magnitude is naturally not effected in a day nor even realized by those concerned. Apart from the unnecessary sacrifices, many of the bans are, in themselves, harmless; others, such as the prohibition to marry blood relatives, are a part of ordinary civilized law.

As regards infanticide the most frequent case was probably that of twins, which appear to be extraordinarily numerous in spite of the weeding out of twin-bearing stock that has gone on for generations; the mother has to undergo purification for twenty-eight days. Triplets are known, but, naturally, of rare occurrence; they are also forbidden. If a girl conceives before her first menstruation, her child must be thrown in the bush.

As regards parturition, foot presentation condemns the child to death; and a child born when no one was present to help the mother must also die, apparently because it has touched the ground, the power in whose name all these bans flourish. A child born with teeth, or lame, perishes likewise, as also does one that does not cry for twenty-four hours; in the latter case it is usually excluded from the house.

In some cases a milder rule prevails; the child may be sent to the king of Nri or a purificatory sacrifice performed and mother and child brought back to its natal town. Such cases are those of children that cut their top teeth first, that walk or talk before they cut their teeth, that develop *talipes varus*, of two children born to a man on the same day, or of a child born on the same day that the cow calves. In the case of a six-fingered child the remedy is to amputate the finger; four fingers do not permit of an equally easy remedy.

There are a number of bans regulating the relations of husband and wife; these may be divided into two classes, those of a general nature, which do not affect the matrimonial status of the parties, and those which, if not expiated, are equivalent in their effect to a divorce.

In the former class of cases are such rules as that a

husband may not carry his wife, a wife may not whistle for her husband. A widow may not see the corpse of her dead husband and so on.

In the second class of matrimonial bans, on the other hand, both husband and wife are involved in the consequences. If, for example, a woman says to her husband, "Now I break off the ornaments. I wear on my neck," this is equivalent to declaring herself a widow, as widows are required to remove all neck ornaments. If she says, "A thing like you has come to me," the result is the same. She may not offer food with her left hand, nor point to it with her foot, nor throw away what he wants, nor draw down her eyes at her husband, nor show him her genitals. If she does so the women of her family take her to the spot appointed for the worship of ancestors, and the head of the family sacrifices; the women then beat the ground with their hands that it may not kill the woman; one egg is offered to the *ndiċie*, and one is broken on the road. If a woman slaps her buttocks at her husband in sign of contempt or ejects mucus from the nose with the same meaning, similar ceremonies are prescribed. She may not hold out two fingers of the left hand to him (used for minor ablutions) nor swing round and put her hand in the small of her back (indicating the direction in which her husband's words may go). A woman may not throw ashes on her husband's skin; if she does, the women of the family may seize all her property and fine her in addition. They also seize her property if the wife says to her husband, "Are you never going to die?"

A wife may not strike her husband's head with *qfɔ*, nor pull his hand back from food; she may not put on eagle's feathers.

In addition to these there are a number of general sexual bans, though the penalties for breach of them were of the lightest. Other bans regulated the behaviour of women, the preparation of food, the behaviour of animals and conduct at births, burials and similar times.

VI.—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

In the comparatively small area which I covered among the Ibo there were no such striking differences in marriage customs as I found among the Edo; nor yet were two varieties of marriage co-existent in the same area. Certain differences exist; it is possible, for example, to approach the girl when she is quite young, eight or nine years old only, or to marry a girl who is already adult. In the latter case the girl is probably almost invariably consulted first.

In the former sometimes the girl, sometimes the father and mother, are consulted. If the girl objects, the marriage will not take place, but if the father and mother object and the girl consents, the suitor does not give up hope but takes palm wine and begs the parents. In some cases the girl gives only verbal consent, but at Ugwqba the suitor offers palm wine to the girl and if she drinks it it is a sign she consents. At Ebeṅṅḃḃ the man visits the father first and takes palm wine and coconut; if she accepts coconut from him it is a sign she consents. At Ibwariam a man goes to the father's house and asks both her and her parents at the same time; if the girl accepts him she goes and touches his chest and the father cannot refuse.

When the girl's answer is not decisive, the decision appears to rest entirely with the father and mother, their families may be called in but they have no voice in the matter. At Nise I was told that the girl was asked first and if she agreed she was told to go and ask her mother, and if the mother agreed a message was sent to the suitor to come and bring palm wine for both father and mother.

On the other hand, when a man marries it appears that he will often consult his elder brother.

The bride price varies according to the locality and according to the bride. A tall, well-grown girl with a smooth skin and other desirable attributes may be obtained at a price of from £25 to £40. On the other hand I was told that the father of an ugly girl was glad to get a husband for her who would give him three goats. Naturally there are stages intermediate between these extremes. In certain places, Ugwqba for example, the price is fixed only for a stranger. In the case of a native of the town it is a matter of consensus of opinion whether enough has been paid. The custom differs here in another particular also. If a poor man wishes to marry a rich man's daughter he is sometimes allowed to pay only a small proportion of the price, £5 or less and the father agrees to accept in its stead the bride price of a grand-daughter.

In the Edo country the work to be done for the parents-in-law is an important feature in the marriage custom. At Awka I was told that there was no work to be done whatever; this, at any rate, does not apply to other parts, where the suitor is compelled to do farm work and other labour for the parents of his bride: contributions of yams reckon as part of the bride price.

There is a fairly well recognized custom giving a share of the bride price to the mother, but the precise amount does not appear to be fixed. At Awka it was taken to be £1 or £2, the father getting £15 or more. At Nise the mother's share was £2, and the father £8 when the total price is £10; at Nqfia the mother gets £2 and the father the balance, or the mother may get only 10s. or £1, for an agreement is frequently made separately with father and mother. If the girl has no mother the woman who has cared for her in her childhood, that is probably another wife of the father, receives the payment; if there is no other wife the father receives the whole.

The payment is said to be wages for cooking food which the suitor himself provides in some places. At Agolo, for example, the suitor feeds the bride even in her parents'

house, though probably, as child marriage is comparatively common, the expenditure does not extend over a great number of years. It should be noted that in Awka girls more often remain with their parents until they are of marriageable age, according to European ideas.]

As there are various customs in Awka which differ considerably from those of the surrounding districts it may be well to give an outline of Awka customs first. At an early point, probably as soon as the suitor is accepted, a goat is offered to the father's *Či* and he also offers a fowl to the mother's *Či*. The next step is for the girl to have the mbubu marks made down her chest. If the marking is postponed until after the girl has conceived it is impossible for her to be marked. After marking, the next step is to go to the fattening room, mpu, for four months. Before this the suitor provides from one to three goats for the ceremony, and if one of the goats is thin the suitor can be compelled to provide another; the father and mother provide yams and the suitor brings 40s. worth of camwood for the use of the girl. At the end of four months the suitor invites his own family to the coming-out ceremony. The parents kill the first goat and make a feast for young men and women, the suitor also brings a goat; another goat called ewu a boa (the second goat) is killed to announce the coming-out.

She comes out on Afq day and the next day goes to her husband's house in the afternoon, accompanied by her mother and her mother's sister, and other relatives; her mother has prepared a long basket full of native food; when they arrive the basket is given to the wife who gives it to her husband; the husband gives food and drink to the crowd and when the conductors go back with the basket he puts 2s. worth of cowries in it; the husband may spread a cloth for the girl to walk on: the next morning the husband kills a goat and puts it in a basket, with dishes full of fish and boiled meat and £2 worth of cowries; his relatives carry this to the mother of the girl, who sends back her thanks.

If she is the first wife, husband and wife live in one house: if

there is already a wife, the husband usually sends her to live with the first wife. For a whole year a new wife does no work, her husband's mother or first wife does the cooking, but if there is no mother and no other wife she would probably do it herself; in any case she does not go to market or farm for a year.

Here may be mentioned the custom observed when a full-grown girl is asked in marriage. The suitor speaks to her first, then takes a pot of palm wine to her father; if when her father questions her she gives her consent, part of the pot of palm wine was poured out on the ground to Qfɔ, and the father says, "May my son-in-law prosper and bring plenty of money, may my daughter be a good wife and bear plenty of children." The rest of the cup of palm wine is drunk by the daughter and the second cup goes to the father. The remainder of the customs are the same.

In the surrounding districts the fattening room does not appear to be known, but the marking is carried out as before. At some places a go-between selected by the man who wishes to marry makes the first advances to the parents of the girl. When negotiations are sufficiently far advanced and the girl has given her consent, before any question of price comes up, the suitor asks that she may accompany him home, in order that she may see if she likes his house, and that he may judge if she is likely to make him a good wife.

The essential part of the ceremony of the marriage appears to be in many places the sacrifice of a goat and fowl to the ancestors of the girl, or else to the particular ancestor who is reincarnated in her; after this ceremony has been performed any children which she may bear belong to the suitor, whether he has completed payment of the bride price or not.

Should the girl object to the first suitor after accepting him, or should a wife run from her husband, a second suitor performs sacrifice again, and after the ceremony he in turn becomes entitled to the children born subsequently.

This sacrifice to the ancestors must be distinguished from a similar sacrifice called *Iluluṣṣu*. At *Nḡfia*, as soon as the price is paid, the suitor sends a he-goat to his father-in-law and says he wants his wife to file her teeth ; after the killing of the goat, she may become a mother ; but there would be trouble if it occurred before the goat were given. When she conceives her husband sends a she-goat and a hen to be sacrificed to her father's ancestors, "for soft mouth" (*Iluluṣṣu*), that is to say, in order that if any of her relatives curse her or her husband no harm may result.

The sacrifice to *Ago* appears to correspond exactly to the first kind of sacrifice to the ancestors. At *Nibo*, when the girl has followed the man home and he is pleased with her, he sacrifices a fowl to the woman who is reincarnated in her. The custom is the same at *Amaṣi* and *Ibwariam*, and in the latter case it was expressly stated that any children born after the sacrifice were the property of the suitor.

Both at *Awka* and elsewhere it is the custom for the parents to give household goods and cowries to a wife when she receives her own house ; she will get cloth, pots, a basket of yams, perhaps £1 worth of cowries, a market basket, and a she-goat. At *Ačala* the list was somewhat longer, a water basket, pot, cooking pot, knife, soup pot, mortar, mat, *okwa* (wood vessel), spoon, broom, bag, fish, salt, and palm wine.

If the girl dies while the price is being paid the whole of the money is lost. In this connection a curious custom found at *Ẹbẹṅṅẹ* may be mentioned : if the girl dies before the price is completed, the suitor pays up to the amount of £8— if that amount has not already been paid ; until he has done so he is not allowed to bury her. On the other hand, if the suitor dies, his brother takes the girl as his own wife at *Awka*, completing the bride price, if necessary, and hands her over to the dead man's son, if he has one, when the latter is grown up ; all children belong to the dead man's son. At *Nḡfia* the girl's consent is necessary, but in any case her suitor does not take her until after second burial. At *Ẹbẹṅṅẹ* the brother completes the price after second burial.

At Awka in the case of a runaway wife, there is usually no responsibility for the repayment of the bride price, unless she gets another husband. If she dies unmarried, the original husband can bury her if he wishes. At Ugwqba the custom was very different. If a man's wife ran away and he could seize none of her people, he would take a big alose and put it down in an open space to kill all the town. Then the people of the town would help, and put the alose in the house of the man to whom the woman had run, and he would then call the husband and pay back the price. At Ačala I was told that the father was responsible for repayment of price if the wife ran away, but I am disposed to think that the answer was given under a misunderstanding.

[Although Ibo law recognizes adultery as an offence which may be punished by a fine, this is in practice very rarely exacted.] As a rule, the husband and a friend make an agreement under which the friend agrees to give the woman no injurious medicine. Failing an agreement, the woman, before she bears a child, must name her lover, who has to sacrifice a fowl to her *či*. At Agolo, should the child die, the lover must sacrifice to all the ancestors and may have to pay a woman to the husband. If, however, he sacrifices before the death of the child, he is clear of any penalty. At Qbu the lover has to give a he-goat, a cock and a hen, which the head of the family sacrifices to the ancestors. When a woman conceives, her husband may put a he-goat on the ground and a young man takes a machet and attempts to cut the head off at one stroke. If he fails, they know she has not made full confession.

At Aguku the lover, if a stranger, must pay one she-goat and a hen and satisfy all the husband's demands, otherwise, if the child dies, he is guilty of murder. The animals are killed by a boy, who cuts off their heads, and they are eaten by boys. If the lover is a native of Aguku, he takes a basket of yams, a hen, 180 cowries, kola, and palm wine which has never touched the ground. The husband and wife join hands and the head of the family offers kola to the ancestors.

He also puts kola on the hands of the husband and wife, and they eat from each other's hands; the fowl is also killed, their hands smeared with blood, and they lick the blood from each other's hands. The head of the family and the women are present when the woman makes her confession; the husband and wife stand facing one another and link their fingers, palms of the hands uppermost, before the face of the ancestors. The head of the family takes mashed yam and puts it on the woman's and her husband's hands and they eat as already described; palm wine is drunk in the same way, and they loose hands and eat together and drink water.

At Nibo no fine can be enforced, but fowls for sacrifice are handed over. At Nqfia the husband tells the lover that he must be responsible for his wife, and suffer the penalty of death if she dies in childbirth. This, however, is only if she has quarrelled with her husband; if she has not quarrelled with her husband, the lover must give a cock which has crowed, if it is a first child, a cock which has not crowed in the case of any other child. Another way of evading difficulties is for the lover to take palm wine to the woman's father and ask for her as a wife; the request is a purely formal one, and the father's answer is of no consequence.

At Ugwqba, if a woman runs to another man and dies in his house, there is a big palaver if the price has not been repaid. The man has to pay a young girl to the husband, if he buries her; if the father buries her he repays bride price, if the husband's people bury her the lover repays bride price.

If a girl bears a child to another man before she has gone to her husband, the Awka custom is that the suitor claims the child and stops the payment of bride price if he is not friendly with the father, if he is friendly, the father will send the girl to him and the price will be completed later.

Among the Edo it is an exceedingly common thing for a girl to bear children before marriage, and in one village I found a case in which a daughter of one of the principal

men had been living with a man for years, and was not yet married to him because the father raised an objection. Such a state of things would be virtually impossible among the Ibo, it appears to be considered rather disgraceful for a girl to bear a child unless she has a suitor, though it is a comparatively minor matter who the father is. At Awka the father can compel a girl's lover to marry her, and the two families settle the bride price together.

At Qbu the child of a suitorless girl belongs to her father, but a boy would not receive property from him, though he would get land from her mother's father in order to build a house. He is reckoned as a stranger.

[On the whole, the husband has considerable powers over his wife. He can chastise her, subject to conditions laid down under the Nso ani, and if he killed her, a payment to her family was the only penalty. At Nqfia a disobedient wife can be kept short of meat and palm wine, and if the man has made a title, the shares coming to him go to the other wives but not to the disobedient one; if none of these steps are effective, she can be driven away. At Amañsi, however, a husband cannot drive a woman out if she has a child; should a childless wife be driven out, her house can be given to another wife.]

[The marriage prohibitions are comparatively simple; it is always forbidden to marry in the same sept,¹ sometimes, apparently, in the same quarter. Marriage into the father's or mother's family is never allowed, but two sisters may be married, usually, however, only in succession.]

(SEXUAL LICENCE.—In sexual matters, unmarried girls have the most complete freedom of action; after marriage the degree of freedom varies, with the locality, being greatest where outside influence has been strongest.

[In Awka and the surrounding towns a married woman entertains her lovers with the permission of her husband, who is, as a rule, approached by the lover in the first

¹ *I.e.*, Umunna, or body of people claiming descent from a single ancestor.

instance with a gift of palm wine; the husband may stipulate that nothing may be given to his wife which shall prevent her from conceiving, such as the meat of a cow that has calved of twins, and it will usually be agreed that the woman is not to neglect her husband for her lovers; but with these provisos the husband seldom seems to raise any objection to a *liaison*.]

When such an affair has gone on for some time, the husband may endeavour to find a wife for his wife's "friend." If he is successful the *liaison* comes to an end; when the wife in question bears a child, the woman and her husband visit her in twenty-eight days and the husband and ex-friend are adjured never to quarrel.

It will be understood that actions for adultery, so common in other parts of Southern Nigeria, are practically non-existent.

This practice of "friendship" is said to be the cause of a good deal of thieving that goes on.

In the case of an unmarried girl, whether betrothed or not, regular relations begin at the age of thirteen or fourteen; if her suitor has paid the whole of the bride price, she may go to his house earlier. A girl begins her sexual life with a boy of fifteen or sixteen, who takes two shillings to her mother and says he wants to be friends with her; in the morning the boy gives four yams to the girl. When she conceives, which they are usually careful to avoid doing till they have received their body marks, the girl goes to her husband and the boy looks out for another friend.

I was told at Ibwariam that the whole matter, of which a generalized account has just been given, is regularly systematized. A young man twists his hair in two coils, one at each side, and looks out for a girl; he keeps her for four nights only, and then takes her back home with two shillings, a fish and four coconuts for her mother; custom requires him to have fourteen *liaisons* of this kind, after which he shaves his head, gives up the practice of free love and marries a wife.

BIRTH CUSTOMS.—In endeavouring to understand birth customs it must be kept in mind that there are two distinct sets of ideas manifesting themselves; in the first place after birth both the mother and the young child are a centre of dangerous force; they have to be set apart therefore, and certain people may not touch or see them, animals may not come near them, and before this state can be changed various ablutions have to be performed.

On the other hand they are in a state of dangerous receptivity; it is easily possible to explain the exclusion of certain persons and animals on the supposition that what is feared is danger to the mother and child and not to the external world; however, this may be, it will be seen from the following pages that special precautions are taken at various places to keep away evil spirits from the mother and child; if these two sets of ideas are borne in mind birth customs become intelligible.

First among the rites connected with birth may be mentioned a sacrifice in the country from which the expectant mother came, the object of which is said in many cases to be to prevent mother and child from being bewitched.

In addition to this husband and father-in-law take the oath known as *Ebwando* (see page 42).

The customs in connection with the birth itself are of an extreme simplicity; mention may, however, be made of the fact that when the child's end of the cord drops off it is sometimes placed in a palm tree, which henceforth belongs to the child. The child's hair is usually cut at the same time.

On the twenty-eighth day a name is given to the child, usually by one of the grandfathers. Children are named firstly after the day of the week on which they are born, and secondly, after an ancestor.

At some places offerings are made after the birth to keep away the evil spirit from making attacks, to which the child is exposed until it is old enough to be carried out, that is usually about the twelfth day.

In some parts of the Awka district it is the custom for the mother to go to the waterside on the twenty-eighth day, carrying the plank on which she has been sitting and a pot of camwood which she rubs on the root of every tree that she passes; after this the child may be taken to the obu and presented to the ancestors.

When the child is about two months old the mother will begin to go to the local market, but, unlike the Edo women, the Ibo do not take their children with them to market and this may account for the greater mortality which seems to prevail among young children. It is true that another woman of the same family is permitted to suckle the child in the absence of the mother provided her own child is of the same sex; but such unsuitable diet as yams and palm wine appears to be given to the children while they are still only a few months old.

KINSHIP.—The system of kinship is an exceedingly simple one; even more so in fact than the Edo one: the distinction drawn between different kinds of brothers by the latter is not made, the term invariably used being *Nwanne*—son of my mother—to express half-brother *Nwanna* might be used. The term for mother's brother is *Nwannennem*—son of the mother of my mother, and the corresponding term was used for father's brother, where the term "father" was not applied to him. Grandparents are spoken of in various ways, the mother's mother may be *Ñneíne* or *Nn'Oče*, and the grandchild is *Ñwa Ñwa*—child of the child. Relatives in law are *Qgq*, but the wife calls her husband's father and mother by the Ibo terms corresponding to these English ones. The only term that seems to be of any interest is the reciprocal term applied to a wife's sister's husband, viz. *Qqngoleta*.

Conditions of fosterage or milk kinship may be set up when a woman suckles the child of a dead mother; an operation called *asala* is performed, that is washing her breast with coconut water; a child calls his or her foster mother "mother," but she must be a member of the sept (*umunna*) which claims descent from one male ancestor.

At Enugu no limitation was actually laid down, but I was told that a foster child could not marry an actual child of a foster parent. At Nimo anyone may suckle the child, even one whom the father might not marry; in later life a boy would collect firewood and get water for his foster mother, and a girl's suitor would do the same for her foster mother.

In connection with kinship something must be said about the question of avoidance. It is a common practice for a son-in-law to offer a gift to a father-in-law or mother-in-law before he or she eats in the son-in-law's house, or drinks palm wine.

At Enugu the ceremony is rather more elaborate. Sacrifice is offered to the ancestors, and they are told that if the son-in-law speaks to his father-in-law they must not be angry, and the same to his mother-in-law. This they do after finishing the bride price; when a girl speaks to her father-in-law or her mother-in-law for the first time, she brings a hen and the father gives it to the ancestors. At Nimo, when a girl goes to her husband's house he gives her 5s. before she eats and the family dash her; she pays this money to her mother, who buys cloth with it for her but does not return the balance.

In connection with kinship a word or two may be said about the head of the family; as among the Edo the oldest man appears to succeed whether he is influential or not; a family is far less scattered than among the Edo and the authority of the head if readily supported when he summons a meeting; disobedience can be punished by a fine of £5.

A comparatively important part is played by the Umwada or Umwqkbo; they are the daughters of a sept whether married or not; if there is a big quarrel the women assemble to arbitrate; if their decision is not accepted they refuse to receive the waist of a victim which is their due. They have to agree on their decision and take oath among themselves to give a true decision. They say: this is our father's and mother's land, let that family suffer, and strike their hands on the ground.

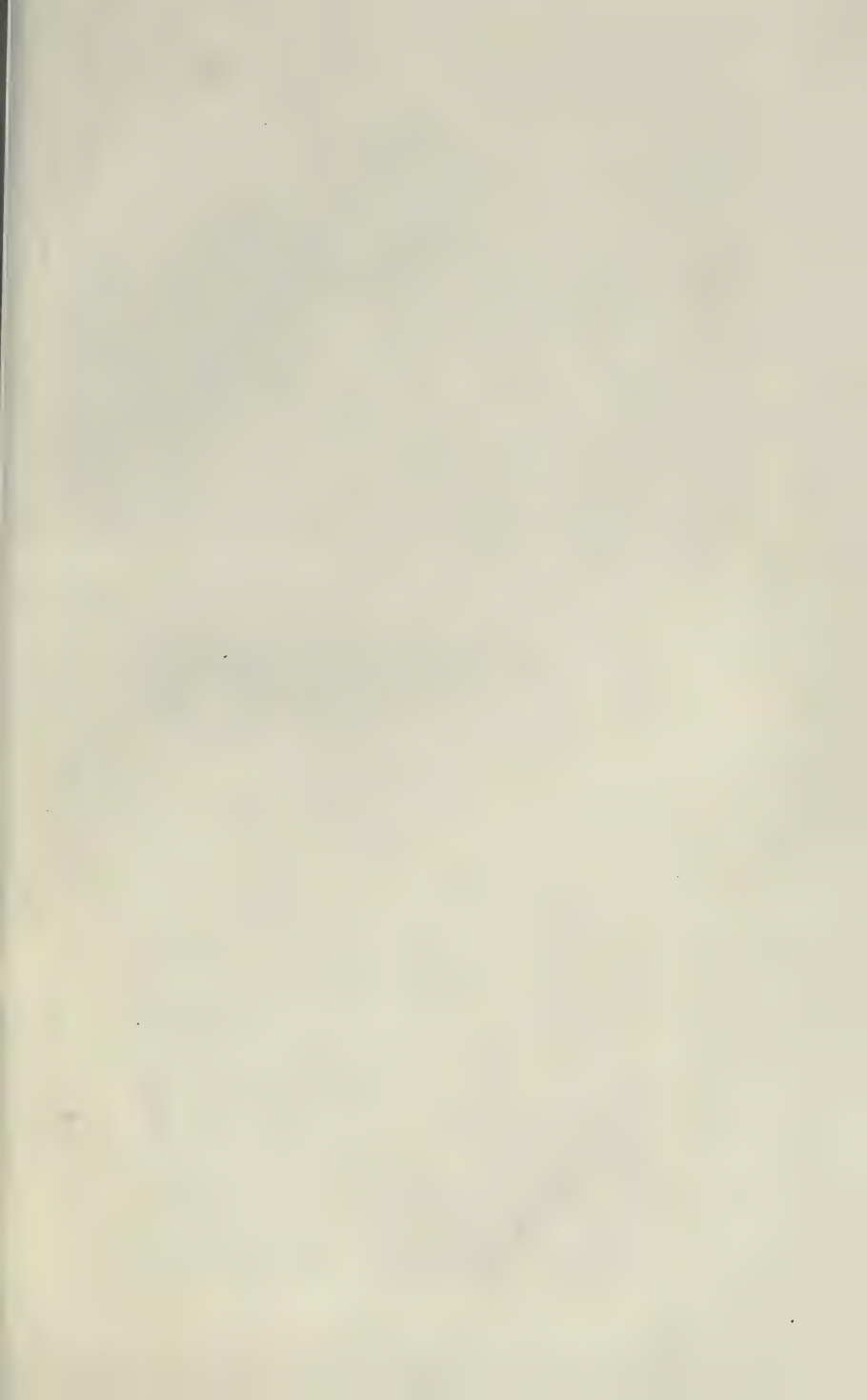
In peace negotiations a very important part is played also by the sons of women married from one of the contending towns into the other.



(a) FOREHEAD MARKS.



(b) CHEEK MARKS.

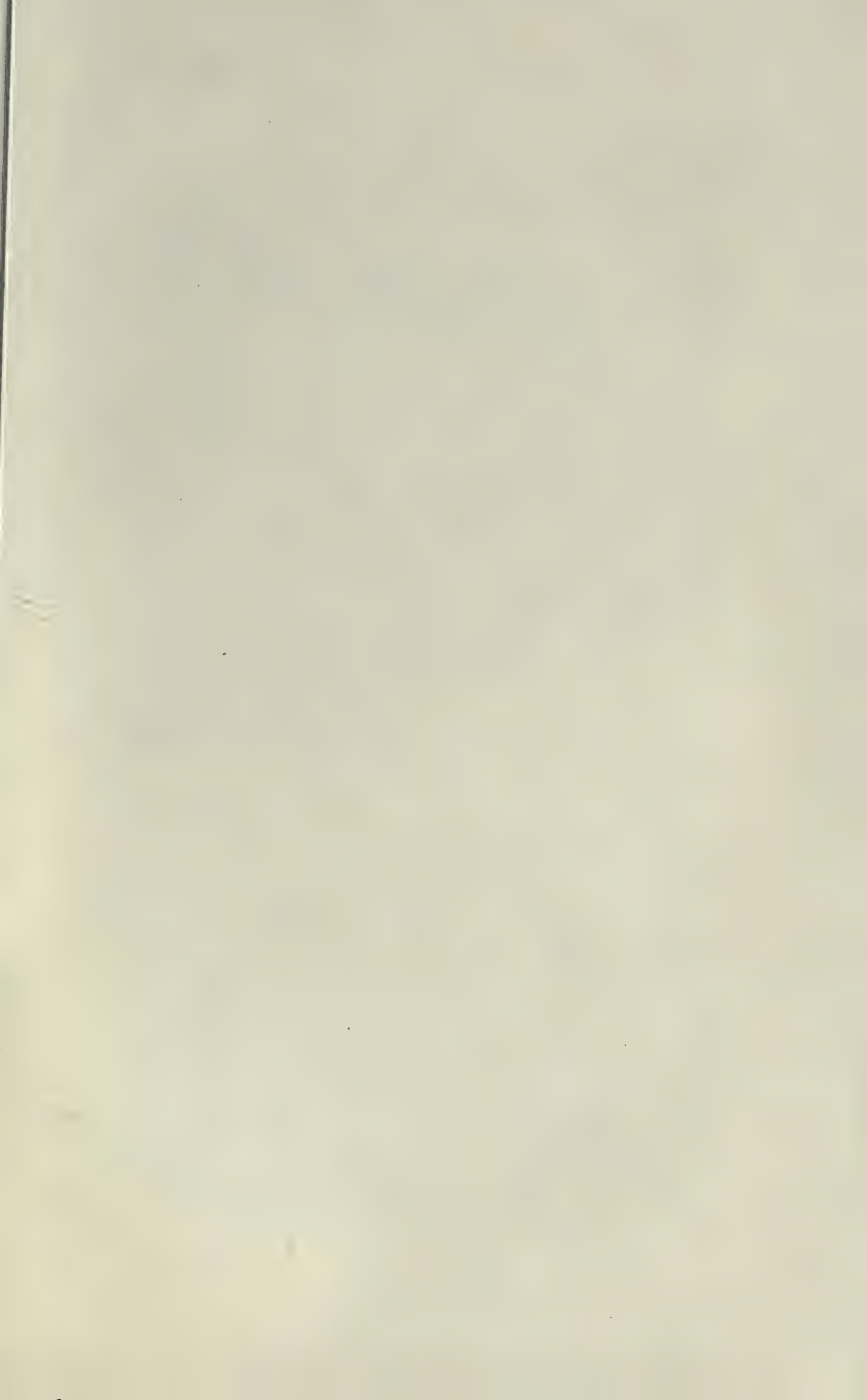




(a) BODY MARKS.



(b) BODY MARKS.





(b) IČI MARKS.



(a) IČI MARKS.

VII.—MARKS AND GRADES.

MARKS.—The face marks in the Awka district are, on the whole, inconspicuous, if we except the *iči* marks of the men ; women usually have a series of cuts down the forehead and reaching to the bridge of the nose ; this is almost invariably accompanied by a cross or two crescents just above the level of the eyes ; a short distance from the outer margin of the eye a sort of rosette is made.

Much more important than the face marks, however, are the marks down the chest known as *mbubu* ; these consist of a triple row of knobs down the chest, a double girdle round the waist, a cross at the point of intersection of the two sets of lines and two rings or knobs about the centre of the chest outside the line ; these rings or knobs may also be replaced by a cross. These marks are put on about the age of puberty.

Teeth are filed in a girl at about ten to fifteen ; they say that they do it simply to look fine, but it is clearly a relic of an old ceremony of initiation, for no woman is allowed to bear a child before her teeth are filed. The work is usually done by a blacksmith and the sides of the four top incisors are chipped with a razor. In the case of a boy, tooth filing appears to be done before he makes his first title.

[Tooth deformation and skin marking are evidently relics of original rites of initiation ; at the present day, however, such ceremonies as are celebrated in the so-called making of young men and young girls have no relation to the rites just mentioned.

GRADES.—A remarkable feature of the social life of the Ibos of the Awka district is the great importance which the so-called titles assume ; as a man cannot marry until he reaches a certain grade, usually the first, it is virtually compulsory on every man to make a title of some sort, possibly the titles

were originally the grades of a secret society; there is practically no secrecy, though certain persons may be excluded from certain portions of the rites; in practice they are firstly associations for eating and drinking, and secondly benefit societies; payments are made, as fresh candidates join, and the dividends consist of the contributions that they have to pay.

It is difficult to say whether the influence is good or bad; on the one hand a great deal of livestock and other produce is consumed, mainly by the men, on the other hand, a man has an incentive to work which he would not otherwise have; for a title is, I understand, an exceedingly good investment. it must, of course, be remembered that the man who starts with the advantage of a rich father will, with ease, reach the highest grade by no exertions of his own and may put himself in a position to hand on one of his titles to his son.

In some towns the ceremonies are simple in the extreme and consist of little beyond payments, eating and drinking; they reach their highest development perhaps in Awka.

The titles differ from town to town, At Awka they are Amaunulu, Ananwadi, Ivejiqko, the order of which is unimportant, then, Či, Aĵagiĵa, Eku, and lastly Qzq.

The first custom is known in some places as Ebago, and this is connected with the belief in reincarnation, but of the titles proper the first is Amaunulu, and this may be said to admit to the freedom of the country and constitutes the difference between a slave and a free man.

The ceremonies may be performed when the candidate is already adult, but it is more usual for this grade to be attained at or about the age of puberty.

The rites are performed to a great extent in the Udo bush and the officiating priest is known as the Ėzudo.

In connection with the minor titles it should be mentioned that the shares coming to the holders of them and the contributions made by candidates lapse at the death of a man until he has attained a certain grade, thus at Awka a man who has the Ivejiqko title is said to take it with him to the next

world ; a man, however, who has made Ŭi leaves it behind him and the shares continue to be paid for five months.

Various statements were made to me as to the cost of the several titles, the amounts quoted varying from £100 to £500. It is quite certain that £100 is no exaggeration, but I have never received any satisfactory evidence that the larger sum is approached ; it must, however, be remembered that the payments are spread over a number of years and that payments in kind are accepted as well as payments in money.

VIII.—BURIAL CUSTOMS.

We have seen under the head of birth customs that two sets of ideas may be discerned in the rites following the birth of a child ; the same is equally true of burial customs ; in the case of the first burial the body is retained only a brief time in the house, largely, no doubt, owing to sanitary reasons ; when it is deposited in the grave the grave diggers and others wash themselves in order to free themselves from some ceremonial uncleanness ; it is by no means plain whether the original idea was that the spirit or some surviving part could cling to them, or whether some more abstract idea of death or disease was the motive of these ablutions.

However that may be, when we come to second burial we find that it very commonly happens that the dead man is summoned back to take his share of the food, a feeling which has already been manifested in the rites of first burial ; although a mock burial of some sort is performed by which the dead man is believed to be finally dismissed, there is, on the whole, no fear of the dead shown during these rites.

The case of the widow must, however, as a rule, be excepted ; she is strictly segregated during the rites of first burial, and her separation is prolonged in some cases until the rites of second burial are finished ; it seems clear from the character of the ceremonies that the deceased husband is believed to have some hold upon her, and that too close contact with her would endanger the health, and it may be the life of other people and especially of adult men.

The description of burial rites which follow, read in the light of these remarks, will probably be intelligible, though there are, of course, details which cannot readily be subsumed under either of the heads of friendship or fear of the dead.

It is impossible to give in detail any account of burial rites, which differ from town to town, and quarter to quarter, the following may, however, be taken as typical ; it is a description of the Nibo customs. In the Umwanum quarter the body is laid on a mat, anywhere in the house, and cotton thread is put between the big and second toes, then the body is taken out and two women wash it four times, and rub camwood four times, then they put black marks and pass a razor over the face four times ; if his wife has borne a child a he-goat is killed and blood thrown on the right side of the body ; a piece of the throat, palm oil and salt are put in an oglisi leaf and placed in the dead man's mouth. A cock is killed and the blood put upon the right side from head to foot, and feathers on the right side of the face and in the right hand.

A bier is made of raphia midrib, and the grave dug outside by two men, four men of the family carrying the body ; when they reach the grave they loose the body and take it off the bier and put it with the cloth and mat in the grave. Various things are put upon the grave, a piece of round basket cut in four pieces and a hoe with string, a matchet is taken to cut the string, and the hoe is taken away ; the four pieces of the round basket are put in a square with the string on them, and the man who puts them on the grave jumps four times on them and jumps off sideways ; he passes sand round his head and says, "Don't wash your hand for Či before you kill the man who killed you." If a Nibo woman dies she is brought back to Nibo and the blood and feathers put upon the body, and also the throat of the goat ; for small children a fowl only is killed. When the time comes for second burial a gun is fired very early in the morning, and the part of the wall over the door knocked down, four oglisi are planted outside the door and a she-goat and cock sacrificed to them ; then they dance Abia and clap their hands at the conclusion ; after this the goat and fowl are shared.

A woman takes the widow into the part of the house called the Onqumbo and puts her by the fire ; she shaves her head

bare and takes the hair and house ashes to the aĵoifia¹: the widow stays twenty-eight days in the room but may come out at night provided no one sees her; then a woman comes to take her to the aĵoifia to wash; a small chicken and a palm leaf are taken by a man in the evening to the aĵoifia; the palm leaf is looped and struck on the ground; at the same time the dead man is told to come back; the chicken is thrown into the bush and a palm leaf carried on the left hand and put against the wall. Eĉiĉilie is planted in front of it and the dead man's brother sits down in front and puts palm leaf on his right wrist. A cock and a hen are then killed on the eĉiĉilie; yams, palm oil, salt, the liver of a fowl and its head are offered to four oglisi pegs in front of the eĉiĉilie; then a knife is taken and the eĉiĉilie is cut down and put on the ground; the knife is then knocked on the ground; this means that the dead man can't plant yams again; before performing this ceremony they could plant the dead man's yams.

No woman of the quarter in which a death has occurred may either go to market or work on the day of a death; they say that this is due to "Odaĉi," which means an obstacle—literally it falls and blocks the way.

A few other rites may be mentioned here; when the body has been put in the grave the people present take up sand in their left hand and pass it round their heads, saying "body go to him who killed you," or words to that effect.

At Aguku there is a rather impressive custom which ordains that the women of the quarter shall march round at midnight and sing.

I witnessed the burial of a woman at Ibwariam and the following is a brief description of the rites which preceded the actual interment.

Before midday the women of the quarter in which she died danced in the open space. About midday the body was brought out and put down in the space where the dancing had

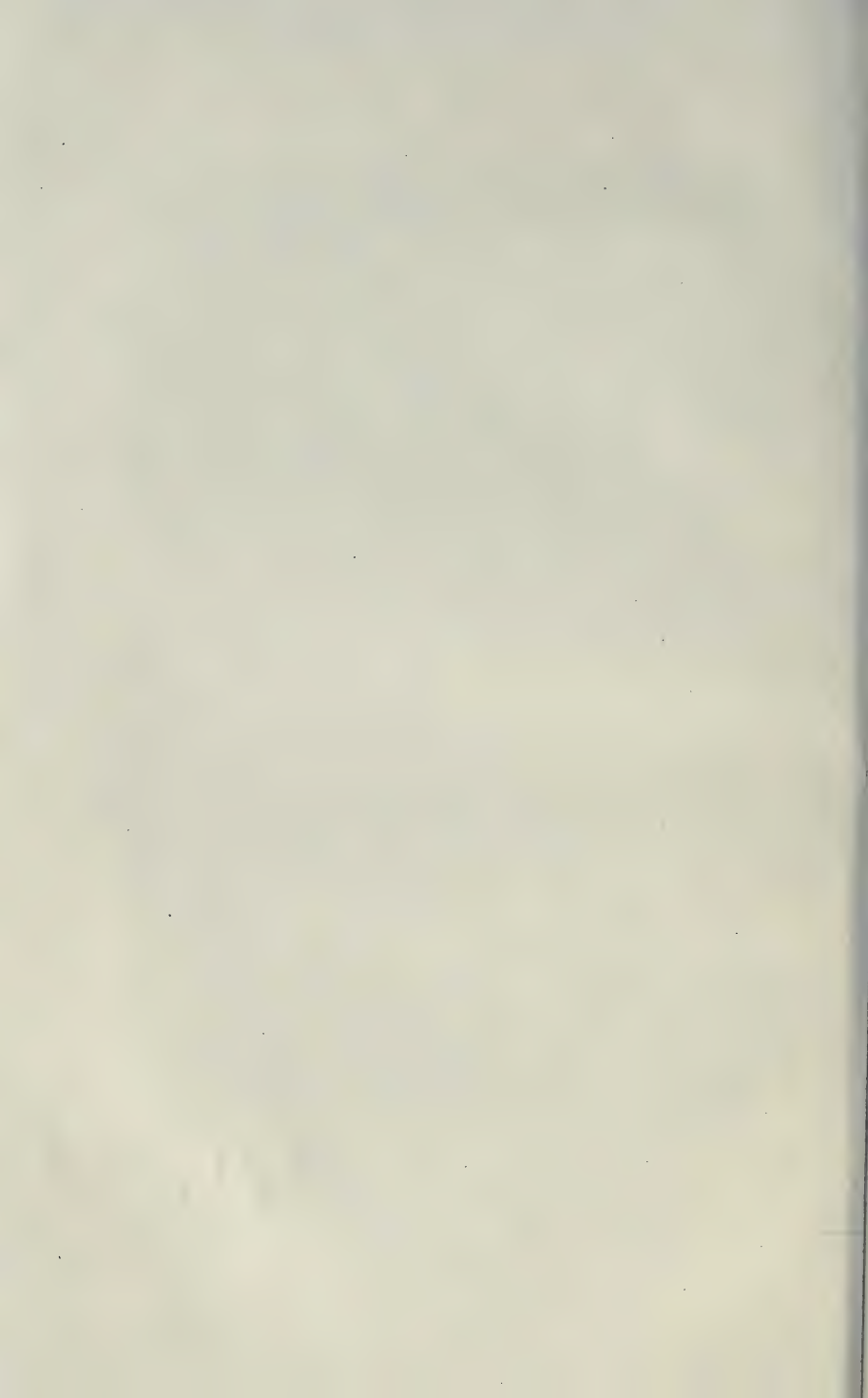
¹ Literally, bad bush, a portion of the bush reserved for these purposes.



(a) WAILING AT IBWARIAM.



(b) BURIAL DANCE AT IBWARIAM



taken place; cowries were thrown down, and there was a certain amount of wailing; after a short time the bier was picked up by the young men and carried to the woman's own quarter; here it was put down and the girls of the quarter, up to the age of about seventeen, came and threw themselves down on their knees and elbows and began to wail; they massed themselves at one end of the coffin in one sweltering heap, and so far as I could distinguish the words they were, "Oh, our sister, why have you left us," but each seemed to give utterance to any sentiments she chose; one girl was seated on a stool at the other end of the coffin; and whereas tears poured down the cheeks of the wailers, this girl appeared to be absolutely unmoved, and so far as I could see she did not speak. It appeared afterwards that she was the sister of the deceased woman.

While the wailing was going on, men, who congregated in the shade of a tree, for the sun was beating down fiercely, brought offerings of cloth and laid them on the coffin; cowries were also thrown down; the elder women of the quarter appeared to take no part in the wailing; after this extraordinarily barbaric scene had gone on for twenty minutes or so the bier was picked up and carried to the farm, and the wailing ceased as if by magic.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS.

HOSPITALITY.—If a man has a friend in another town and finds him out when he goes to his house, he will take yams from the store and eat; he will notify a neighbour of what he has done. Generally speaking, people seem to be exceedingly hospitable; in wandering about villages, it happens to me several times in one day that a family which is making its meal is anxious for me to join them in eating roast yams; when I meet a man carrying palm wine, he will often urge me to take a drink. In the matter of offering of sacrificial meats, however, they were more backward than the Edo-speaking peoples, possibly because of the more widespread influence of Christianity among them.

If I entered a house to take a photograph in the more remote parts the owner would insist on my eating kola or drinking palm wine, or at least accepting a small present of yams, and, frequently, though it is rather reversing the proper order of things, people who came to see me would bring me palm wine with which to entertain me; it was, however, clearly intended to be drunk on the spot.

Customs in connection with kola eating are rare, but at Awka, they say: *Čuku*, will you give us life, children, money, and those present say, *ise*, that is, “be it so.”

WAR.—I was told that there were three kinds of war, family war (*qgo*), street war, and town war (*aya*), but I never got a clear definition of the exact difference. Apparently no announcement of a first attack would be made in Awka. The second, however, would be notified; peace could not be made directly, but only through a mediator; if anyone were killed in war, there was nothing to prevent the foe from beheading



(a) TWO FAMILIES AT IBWARIAM.



(b) WOMEN IN MARKET AT AČALA.

the man and putting his head on their drum ; blood was sprinkled on the right arm of the man who cut off the head of another, this, even if he were left-handed ; his arms were marked with chalk and palm leaf tied on his wrists ; the flesh was removed from the scalp by scraping, or by the agency of water, and the head of the quarter hung it up in his obu ; at Agolo, too, they danced with the skulls and, according to the story told me, the Adaĵi people ate the flesh off theirs ; when they wished to sue for peace, palm leaves were tied, a white fowl and chalk put on them, and the whole planted on the frontier, then neighbours would intervene.

At Qbu, mediators would take a palm leaf and plant near the fighting, then a head of palm nuts would be taken and cut through from end to end with a matchet ; the nuts were thrown over the ground, and the fighters touched their hands and chests with them. At Aguku, if the Ẹzẹnri wished to prevent war he made Ebwo, which was explained to be the leaf of a tree, and held it up ; when the people saw it there was no more firing and the king put the leaves down on the ground and no one might cross them for war.

Fighting was begun, it appears, very early in the morning, so early, in fact, that they were tired sometime about 8 a.m. At Nibo they would not fight upon Eke day, and a town six miles away was considered too far away to fight with.

At Nqfia, when the nuts were cut from a palm tree, and the head turned down with the end cut off, they could not fight again ; a goat and a fowl were killed on the nuts and peace was made. In some cases, possibly, many lives were lost, but it is difficult to believe the stories that one hears ; one informant told me that the men of Awka, which numbered 7,000 inhabitants in all, killed 3,600 of their enemies one morning, and the same number the next. That was, of course, a case of invasion ; in ordinary inter-town fighting a war might go on for three years and two men be killed on each side.

In time of war houses were constructed on the tree tops as a refuge for women and children.

FIRE.—I saw a ceremony performed after a house had been burnt down.

At Ibwariam the family assembles in the square the next day and stand in line; two obwaĵa are made with yams inside, the doctor walks round with a small chicken and a horn, passing it from the crown of the head to the chest of each person, and begging that fire may not hurt them again; he then walks back along the line holding the chicken at knee height; the chicken is then cut in two, one for each obwaĵa, and one given to a boy to carry to the farm; he is followed by another boy, wearing plaited palm leaves on his neck; this is brought back and put up where the house was burned. When the ceremony is over, at a given signal they all jump one step forward saying “u-u-u-u” (a long drawn “u” in descending scale).

WAYSIDE NOTICES.—If two people are going on a journey and wish to arrange that A shall leave a note for B, to show that he has gone on, a knot is tied in the grass at a certain place; if there is no knot there, it is a sign that B has to wait; this is called akwu at Oniča and ogo at Awka.

This may also mean that someone means to cut grass or make a farm at that spot.

FOOD, COOKING.—The main foods of the people of the Awka district are yams, which last until about April, corn, which comes in about April, and is also kept dry from the year before, cassava, which can be dug all the year round, and various sorts of beans; the relative consumption of these different products, however, varies very much in the different districts; near Aguku, for example, there are enormous cassava fields, at Ugwqba, on the other hand, little cassava is to be seen, though tomatoes and other herbs are largely cultivated.

Meat and fish are, of course, also eaten, but they figure more especially after a sacrifice or payment for the share of a title.

MEALS.—The time-table of meals is roughly as follows:—as soon as it gets light the woman gets up and washes, sweeps

the house, and fetches the water, she can then boil or roast yams, and even prepare fish and meat if there is sufficient time before going out; between 7 and 9 a.m. seems to be an ordinary time for a morning meal; when they are working in the farm they take small chop and come back perhaps at 1 o'clock, perhaps to prepare food for the night; in yam planting time, however, the return will not be made until 4 or 5 p.m.

CANNIBALISM.—There is no doubt that cannibalism was widely practised before our coming.

At Ačala I got several accounts of how enemies had been taken, and their bodies brought back and eaten in the farm; women apparently were not allowed to eat. In the open space between the rivers beyond Qbu I found a thighbone one day which showed very obvious traces of having had the meat sliced off it with a matchet. Each of the surrounding towns was exceedingly anxious to deny any knowledge of it, and after I had made the round of them I found that each had been accused by one or more of its neighbours.

X.—LAW.

INHERITANCE.—As among the Edo-speaking peoples, so among the Ibo a man's property passes to his sons on his death; and in the Awka district there is, so far as I know, no exception to this rule. In the same way a woman's daughters inherit such parts of her property—pots, camwood, etc., as a rule—as pass traditionally in the female line; and the rules are much the same as in the case of sons. It is only when we come to the inheritance of a woman's property by her son or sons that we find any great diversity of usage; sometimes it is the eldest who takes a big share, sometimes the youngest, sometimes both have a certain advantage over the other brothers; sometimes all the sons share equally, sometimes the husband, too, has certain rights. It is not unreasonable to conclude, from the existence of these divergencies, that only comparatively recently have women come to own property in which their sons desired to have, or could have, a share. It will be seen later that the whole position with regard to women's property is rather indefinite, and this also points to the same conclusion.

In Awka itself the head son gets a big share; it often happens that the father has shared land out to his sons before his death; in this case the head son will take the portion, in addition, which the father reserved for himself. If, on the other hand, the land was undivided up to the death of the father, the head son gets the first choice. If there are no adult sons, the head brother of the father sees to the cultivation of the land until the time is come for the sons to take it over. The customs vary, of course, according to the customs with regard to landed property (*q.v.*).

If one brother dies leaving no sons, his wife or mother gets a small share of koko yams, and the remainder go to his brothers; but if the wife remarries, she loses her share.

A posthumous child succeeds to property; so does an illegi-

timate child of a widow, provided it was born in the house of the dead husband. In this connection it may be noted that if a boy and girl are betrothed in their early years, and the girl is mature before her husband, she may be handed by the mother of the boy to any man to bear children by him, which are the property of the husband.

At Agolo the head son takes the house, and widows and children may remain with him ; if a widow marries a man in the family, she takes her children with her and the bride price of her daughters by her first husband, goes to the eldest son by that husband, failing him to the head son, who is, therefore, the preferential heir.

If a widow bears a child before the ceremonies transferring her to a new husband are duly performed, the child may stay with the father *de facto* ; at the completion of the ceremonies the eldest son may or may not take charge of it ; if the mother does not marry again, or marries some one else than the father, the child belongs to the head son as heir of his father.

Properly speaking, the son of a widow is no man's child, but he may take a share of property in the family to which the husband belonged. The bride price for a girl would go to her own brother ; otherwise, all sons of the father share.

These statements are not free from ambiguity, but, in the absence of a concrete case, I was unable to arrive at any more definite conclusion.

At Adaji the father's house, as usual, goes to the eldest son, who also gets a preferential share ; he partitions the land that goes to his brothers.

Women appear to get more than usual here ; for at her marriage a girl may receive a big gift from her father's property.

At Qbu the property is divided about one month after death ; the eldest son gets a big share ; the old men are responsible for the partition and a dissatisfied heir may be tied up with a rope till he takes a proper view of matters. If there are no sons, the dead man's brothers succeed ; if there

are no brothers, the man who performs the rights of second burial succeeds to all the property.

At Nri, too, the eldest son has a preferential share; he gets the house and any cows there may be there; then he chooses:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1 okwa tree | } | these belong to his wife. |
| 1 oil palm | | |
| 1 kola. | | |
| 1 coconut. | | |
| 1 wine palm and | | |
| 1 piece of land. | | |

The next step is for the eldest son of each wife to choose land for his house, and then the remainder of the property is shared out equally between all such senior sons, including the head son. This done, the sons of each mother share out between themselves; the women take banana, pepper and all food plants, and also bread fruit and oil-palm trees. Yams, koko yams and cassava are common property in the family till second burial has been performed, then the balance goes to the eldest son.

The shares from some of the titles held by the dead man continue to come in for a certain number of months and are divided. If he has made several *qzq* titles, only one is extinguished, and the remainder are shared like the rest of his property.

The widows go to a son or a brother, but may refuse to marry a man whom they do not like. If they marry outside the family, the bride price goes to the eldest son. If a widow does not marry at all, the eldest son buries her and takes all her property, if she has no children. Otherwise, her children unite to bury her.

A posthumous child may get a share, and if the property is to be divided soon after death they will wait to see the sex of the child. The child of a widow reckons as the child of her late husband, but it seems doubtful if it would get any share after the property was once divided.

If the other children are small, the eldest son appears to be

entitled to "eat" all the property, on condition of training the children and providing the boys with wives when they grow up; he cannot, however, appropriate the share of land due to his brothers.

A younger brother may remain in the house of the elder, and work for him two days a week; he receives food from his elder brother.

The bride price of a daughter goes to her own brother, or failing a brother to the half-brother; the mother would be entitled to get a share of the price. The elder brother is consulted as to the betrothal of the younger brother's daughter, but gets no share.

At Enugu, the inheritance is divided after second burial has been performed; the eldest son gets the house and a preferential share in recognition of the fact that he has to keep it up. He gets a big plot of land, okwa and wine palms, goats (?), and sheep, the young wives, and guns and matchets. A cow may be kept as common property and the calves shared. Okwa, oil palm and raphia, which do not pass to the firstborn, are also kept as common property and the fruit shared, according to the account given to me.

Yams and koko yams are kept for second burial; after that the eldest son takes half and the other half is shared among the other heirs, *i.e.*, the eldest sons of each wife.

At Nibo the system appears to be somewhat different. After the head son has got his preferential share—the house, one goat, one cow, one widow, and two plots of land—the remainder is shared equally between the other sons. A posthumous son gets property, not from the estate of his actual father, but from that of the second husband of his mother. A donation holds good for land or any other kind of property; but the eldest son cannot be deprived of the house.

At Nise all the sons share the property after the firstborn has taken his preferential share. He gets his fathers alo (ceremonial staff), a big cow, the land near the house with the trees on it, and such things as stools. Everything else is

divided equally, the land being measured out with "bamboo." A dissatisfied heir may appeal to the women of the family, but they have no power to settle a dispute; the heirs would partition the inheritance afresh. Second burial should be performed before the property is divided, but if the eldest son seizes his share and does not perform the rites, there is no legal remedy; they can only curse him. The dead man would cause a doctor to go to him and tell him to make second burial.

In a concrete case that came before me, the father had abundance of land and the sons did not divide it; the second simply built his house on the far side, and each farmed where he chose and took palm wine where he chose. Goats, five cows, and yams were put aside for second burial; if it were postponed the latter would be planted. The okwa trees were shared, but the oil palms were left undivided.

In another case two sons arranged that the fruit of the trees should be taken in alternate years.

A posthumous son gets a share; if the widow conceives after the husband's death, and the child is a boy, he gets land when he grows up; and this means that the plots are redivided, as also are the trees; if, however, the mother goes to a new husband before the child is born, it loses its share of the first husband's property.

A younger brother can claim food from the elder only if he does work for him; the elder cannot force him to do work. The firstborn settles, with the consent of the mother, what suitor shall be accepted for a girl; but she lives with her own brother or her mother.

At Nqfia the sons share the property, subject to a preferential share for the firstborn. If there are two wives, each with three sons, all six are heirs with equal rights.

The firstborn gets the house and a big piece of land, about a double share; they then share equally. If there are three sons, and three cows to be divided, each would get one, if there are four, the firstborn would get two. Of twenty palm trees, the firstborn would get one for palm wine and one

for oil, each son would get five, and the eldest and second, one extra one each. If there were only two trees of a kind, they would be held in alternate years. If the others agree, the firstborn may get one good goat and cow and they then share equally. If two of the three sons have no houses they would choose land for them before it was divided for other purposes.

If there are two sons and three wives, all the widows may go to the eldest, but he cannot claim them; or the younger may take two; when small sons grow up, the land and trees are shared out again; but they get no share of the animals; if there are not enough of one kind of animal to go round, they may be sold and the proceeds divided; but in any case the firstborn will get one.

The children of a man who dies before his father have no claim to the property of the latter.

Failing sons and brothers, the descendants of the paternal grandfather take the property and the father gets a share; it is a big share if he is the firstborn.

At Amansi the firstborn gets a preferential share; and if there are two sons of one mother, the elder may take all or share with his brother. The firstborn get the house, one cow, two goats, and a big piece of land; coconuts may be divided or the fruit shared. A brother is responsible for the debts of his brother. If one of the sons is refused land by his brother, he may go elsewhere and beg for it.

At Ugwqba the eldest son gets a preferential share of land, water, and trees. In a concrete case there were three sons, one of them a small boy; the first got a widow, a stool, a bush cow horn, a gun, and a matchet; the second got one widow; everything else was used for second burial and the family also contributed to the expense.

When an important woman dies, one cow goes to her people and one is used for second burial; the elder son gets the bride price of the elder sister, the younger of the younger sister. If there are four sons and three daughters, the firstborn gets the bride price for all three girls if the brothers

are small; and then it is his duty to provide them with wives when they grow up; otherwise the firstborn gets the price for the first girl, the second son that of the second girl, and the third and fourth sons share that of the other girl.

If there are no sons, the brother who makes second burial takes all the property if the dead man selects one of his brothers for the function; otherwise two or more brothers share. Any dispositions made by the dead man must be made in the presence of all the family.

At Mbwaku the house goes to the eldest son, unless he is a "foolish" man, when the second may replace him; the firstborn gets a goat and then the remainder are shared equally; trees are dealt with in the same way, and when they come to the end of a turn, the youngest son begins the next and has first choice. Usually a father buys land for his sons to build on but they may also build on the undivided house land belonging to the father. The farm goes to the eldest son. Crops are shared amongst the wives who plant them, with the exception of yams which are planted by men alone.

At Ačala the sons are the heirs, failing them, the brothers; if the sons are small the brothers are heirs, and the sons take their shares only at the death of the brothers in question.

At Ibwariam the firstborn takes the property, even if he is a small boy, but the head of the sept acts as his guardian till he is of age. Cows are kept for him, or replaced if they have been sold; yams and perishable things are used by the family and their equivalent handed to him later. The heir must give leave before a widow can re-marry, but she cannot be compelled to take a husband; illegitimate children are the property of the heir.

If the guardian embezzles the property, all Ibwariam men and women would meet and call on him to make restitution; if he failed to do so, the dead man would come to trouble him and call upon the ancestral spirits to kill him. If the guardian dies after embezzling the property, his family are not responsible to the heir.

In default of a son the brother of the dead man is the heir; next to him comes the daughter, who, however, does not succeed to the house, which is *res nullius*.

We have seen that with regard to a woman's property there are two currents of custom—(a) primogeniture or equal division among sons and daughters of the classes of property heritable by either; and (b) junior right or borough English, as it is known in this country, in certain exceptional areas. Junior right is undoubtedly the original custom at Aguku and its sister town Enugu, if we may judge by the fact that it applies to inheritance both by sons and daughters. At Nqfia and Nise, their nearest neighbours on either side, it applies only in the case of sons, and it is reasonable to suppose that it is an imported custom due to intermarriage with Enugu or Aguku, the more so as both at Nqfia and Nise we also find that the custom of primogeniture, or rather a preferential share for the firstborn, is combined with that of giving a preferential share to the lastborn.

At Adaji a woman's property is equally shared among her sons, apart from presents made in secret to one or other. Even if the money is made by trading and not derived from her own family the husband has no claim. The daughters get nothing beyond household articles such as pots, though apparently on marriage they may receive something in the way of a trousseau.

At Nibo all sons get a share and the eldest gets a preferential share; the married daughters share the household effects on the same principle. If she has no son, her husband inherits trees which she planted, and failing him a stepson or brother-in-law.

At Amañsi the oldest son is chief heir but the house goes to a brother, who can put his wife in or live in it himself.

At Ugwqba the house goes to the eldest son and his wife lives in it, but cows and other property are shared equally. The daughters take all pots, ornaments, etc. If there are no children the rules are the same as at Amañsi in the case of trees.

At Eḃeṃḃḃ the eldest son who has no house takes his

mother's house until he marries, when it passes to the next houseless brother. Of movable property the husband takes some; and some, after deducting what is needed for second burial, is shared between the daughters and the women of the family.

At Mbwaku the youngest son buries his mother and takes her property.

At Ibwariam the eldest daughter gets pots, baskets and other household effects, and if there is no son she is also the heir to the rest of the property; then follow in order the husband, eldest brother, and eldest sister of the deceased woman.

At Ačala the eldest son is the heir; failing a son the eldest brother of the deceased woman; the eldest daughter gets the pots.

At Aguku the last son (ododunwa ñwoke) gets his mother's house, though in theory the husband is the owner; the last daughter inherits the pots, grinding stones and ivory anklets. If the house should fall into ruins, it is within the rights of the son to utilize the site for a farm.

At Enugu the youngest son is heir to the trees, the youngest daughter to pots and household property. If there are no children the husband succeeds; if the husband is dead, the man who makes the second burial is the heir. The property is often used to "take her home"; otherwise the eldest son must give burial goods. An unmarried girl's heirs are her brothers.

At Nise the eldest son and the youngest both get preferential shares; a daughter, whether married or not, gets nothing but pots and the like, a stepson comes next to a real son, the husband is the heir if there are no sons. The house goes to the youngest son unless he has one of his own. If the youngest son does not take it, the husband can live in it or leave it empty; he cannot give it to another wife.

In a concrete case which came before me, the elder son was dead, the younger, therefore, after setting aside a goat and a hen for second burial, took the trees, pots, mortar, dishes and baskets; had there been two sons the trees would have been divided. The daughter took the camwood stone and a small hoe.

At Nqfia the husband is the heir of a childless woman ; the sons inherit if there are any, the eldest and youngest getting preferential shares. If the mother had land, the youngest would get three shares to two of the elder or one of any other son. Okwa trees would be equally divided with an extra one to the youngest ; yams the same, with a double portion for the youngest ; fowls and goats the same ; after the youngest had taken his extra ones, any that remained over would be killed and shared.

The house would go to the youngest son till he got his own house, when the eldest would become entitled to it. The camwood stone and market basket would go to the youngest daughter ; the wife of the youngest son would get the pots and household stuff ; and if he were unmarried the youngest son would take them over till such time as he got a wife.

If a woman marries again, she leaves all her property behind her for her son ; if he is too small to be left, she takes him with her and the other sons keep the property and repay him when he is of age.

GUARDIANSHIP.—There are very few definite rules bearing upon the subject of guardianship, though the guardian is quite well recognized ; the mother appears to occupy a fairly important position ; but if she remarries, the eldest brother of the father would take full charge. An adult son, of course, takes charge of his younger brothers ; if the son were found to be squandering the money a family meeting would be called to restrain him ; if the mother is looking after the property the nearest male relatives will usually help her ; the guardian shares the property out when the children grow up ; his responsibilities have already been indicated in the course of the section on inheritance.

LAND.—Broadly speaking, land in the Awka district may be classified under four heads. In the first place there is the house land, with the attached garden farm ; this is invariably individual property and descends to a man's heirs except in such cases as he is permitted to sell it. Secondly,

we have the farm land, often remote from the houses and changed from year to year; in the second class of cases this farm land is also individual property. In the third class it is undivided property; this class of land is divided annually on well established principles and the man to whom a particular lot falls has usufruct only. In the fourth place, we have bush, which is of various characters; there is, for example, the a'joifia in which the corpses of people who die the so-called "bad death" are put (see p. 80). Although this may lie close beside the path, no one, as a rule, ventures to penetrate it, except for the purpose of conveying a corpse thither. There is, again, the undivided bush which may serve the whole of the town for a collection of firewood and similar purposes. Certain alose have bush which is sacred to them, and this is religiously respected. On the outskirts of a town, in the Amenyi quarter of Awka, for example, there is reserved bush which may not be cultivated, and served to protect the town.

With regard to the undivided bush it should be mentioned that in some cases it is permitted to cut down the bush and make a farm. Clearing constitutes ownership, and the land so cleared is inherited, but it can under no circumstances be sold. The customs with regard to land frequently vary in different quarters of the same town. It will, therefore, be advisable to make the survey strictly geographical.

In Awka town the Amikwo quarter lies all round the government station. Men own land individually, and the boundaries are marked off by sticks; there is also family land; a woman can buy farm land, but her husband or her son is regarded as the actual owner. House land cannot be sold, but it appears to be possible to break the house down and sell the ground. There is undivided bush from the quarter, but a farm made there cannot be sold, though it may be handed over as a free gift; if the owner of it deserts it, it still remains his property; he may also pawn it; bush of this character can only be sold with the consent of the whole sept. According to the statement made to me, the

decision as to the price to be accepted rests with the head of the family, but the proceeds are divided. I was informed that the usual period for pawning land was nine years.

In the Eziqka quarter, on the other hand, there is the strongest objection to selling land; even house land, which is usually freely purchased, is begged for, and every morning when a man rises, he spits on the ground and says, "May the ancestors not give us a bad child who will sell the land." Singularly enough, it appears that a son may sell his father's land behind his back; this would entail the loss of his share of the property, but no further consequences apparently. This quarter is exceedingly poor in respect of land; they have no common bush, and no land belonging to the quarter; yams are grown every three years, and koko yams in intermediate years. Occasionally land lies fallow for one year. In the garden farm, of course, cultivation is intensive, and a certain amount of manuring is done with the aid of ashes and rotting grass.

In the Nkweli quarter there is individual land and bush belonging to the whole quarter. This may be cleared and become individual property, but the quarter cannot sell the bush.

Ivitoka quarter of Awka differs from the other quarters in being widely spread and inhabited virtually solely by farmers. There is individual land, family land, and bush belonging to the quarter. This latter may be cultivated by anyone and claimed the following year. The quarter would never sell it.

The family land is divided annually, the lots being stepped out by the youngest member of the family, who has put on a loin cloth. He counts every other step, *i.e.*, the distance for yam heaps, and portions are 30 double steps or 100. Each member of the family gets an equal share, and usually the head of the family chooses first.

At Agolo house land appears to be individual, and the farm land to belong to each quarter. Certain families appear to own bush which may be used for farm or wood

cutting. Land being plentiful here there is seldom a systematic division of farm lands, each man goes out and farms where he please. Before clearing the land, pegs are put in to mark the boundaries, and ridges of earth mark them off later. When they have cleared the bush and made their farm, they return after leaving it two years fallow, and apparently the original clearer has a certain claim to it. If, however, he leaves it longer, anyone may go there. As the land round Agolo is largely grass land which only needs to be cleared by burning, the value of the privilege is not very great.

In the Umubiara quarter land may be sold, but the family has a prior right of purchase, and after the family anyone in Agolo. If a family dies out its land passes to its neighbours.

Umowere quarter lies low, near the lake; they have individual house land and farm land; land of the quarter is especially reserved for farms; the family land is mainly devoted to oil palms; each family sends men out to collect the nuts, which are divided according to the number of contributors, that is to say, of males who pay their share towards the cost of the sacrifice.

Nogidi quarter has individual land which may be pawned for the time limit or sold within the family or the quarter; they also have bush which they never clear, but use for collecting wood, pineapples, etc. Anyone of the quarter may go to the Oifiabum bush, but they may not collect palm nuts there. Women are given farm land by their husbands, which their sons inherit from them.

In Adaji land is not plentiful, and the whole of it is individual.

At Nneni two quarters have very little ground; they have garden farms and hire land from other quarters for which they pay in kind; if money were handed over it would constitute a sale. When a man grows up, the family meets and gives him a share, and he builds his house; at his death his share returns to his family; his house, however, appears

to be personal property. Water is not plentiful, and each house has its water hole in the yard; water may be refused to an applicant only if he is an enemy.

At Qbu they have individual land. Family land is used for farms, and land belonging to the quarter is also agricultural.

At Aguku land is also plentiful. Each man has his own land and each family has farm land. All are notified, and on the proper day it is measured out with the midrib of a palm, and the eldest member of the family chooses first; the land of the quarter is divided in the same way. The rule is the same at Enugu.

In Nise house land is individual, farm land belongs to the family; the former may be sold within the family, the latter is not saleable. Each man plants where he pleases and the trees are undivided property. A man is not allowed to plant trees on his farm.

Nqfia has individual and family land, and apparently neither may be sold. Pawning is permitted, but the heirs always have the equity of redemption.

At Amansi house land is individual, together with the trees on it, farm land is undivided; neither land nor trees may be sold or pawned; if they borrow it is on promise of repayment without security; one quarter owns the river bank and has fishing rights.

At Ugwqba land is individual and family; it is never sold; house land is granted in return for a dash of palm wine; if the grantee dies without heirs the grantor resumes possession; in another quarter sale appears to be permitted within the family.

At Eḡeḡeḡe house land is individual, but each man appears to have the right of building where he pleases within his own quarter. Farm land is divided every year that new young men are initiated, that is, every fifth year.

If bush belonging to the quarter is cleared, the families who do the work share it between them. Land cannot be sold, even to the sept, according to one statement; according

to another, the sept subscribes so that a poor man need not sell his land.

At Mbwaku house land is individual; each family has its own farm land, which is shared out by one who knows how to divide it, and held for two years. The whole town owns the bush, but anyone may clear it to make a farm; it is not, however, private property.

At Ačala house land is individual and also farm land; the bush belongs to the whole town, but it is not inheritable if it is cleared; land may be pawned or sold to anyone. The case of Ibwariam differs, to some extent, from that of the towns with which we have been dealing hitherto, in that about five-sixths of the inhabitants appear to be immigrants who were driven out of their homes near Ačala and after some years settled at Ibwariam; each man chose land or built his house where he pleased. Farm land is undivided, but is also undivided property; house land may be sold.

LAND; TRESPASS.—Fairly well-defined rules exist as to the damage caused by the trespass of animals. In Nqfia women have a law about their koko yams: if a man lets his pig come and spoil them the owner of the koko yams can kill the pig and call other women as witnesses; if, however, the pig runs, it cannot be followed and killed, but 5s. compensation may be claimed. If a man finds a goat in his farm he can kill it, and may take the body home; the owner will ask for the body and can get the market price if the body is not handed over. If a cow is found trespassing in the farm the farmer will visit the farm of the owner of the cow and knock the leaves off the yams and cut off plantains in the house land, and there is no quarrel about the matter; if, after this warning, the owner of the cow is not more careful, the farmer may carry off yams from his field.

FISHING.—There is very little to say as to fishing regulations, for although water is plentiful streams are small.

At Awka they catch fish in the dry season by baling the pools dry; there are individual pools inherited from the father, and others are common property. This refers only to

the Ivite quarter, whose fishing rights border on those of Amañsi.

At Agolo there is a general right of fishing in the lake; fish traps and baskets may be put down where anyone pleases, a fish fence appropriates the water; if it is broken anyone can take it. In point of fact, the Umowere quarter owns all the fish.

TREES.—Property in trees is of three different kinds—individual, undivided, and communal; the latter being comparatively rare. As a rule certain trees cannot be appropriated—at any rate, if they are in the bush or in the farm.

By undivided property is meant that the property in the object is transferred to any member of the community who chooses to take possession of it, and remains his as long as he retains it; thus palm nuts which are undivided property become the absolute property of the man who cuts them; a farm, on the other hand, belongs to the farmer only as long as he cultivates it.

In the case of communal property, on the other hand, the whole community retains a right over the whole of the produce until it has been duly shared out. There does not appear to be communal property in land; if, however, it existed it would involve the cultivation of the crops in common, and their sharing out after harvest.

In Awka trees belong to the owner of the land; he may sell the land without the trees, and in that case he has access at all times; no one is allowed to plant trees on pawned or lent land. The palms in the common bush can be cut by anyone when they are ripe; trees which are pawned and not redeemed cannot be sold; they may, however, be pawned a second time.

In the Ivitpka quarter trees can be sold or pawned apart from the land; palm trees are an exception, they are not sold even with the land; anyone is permitted to cut the nuts of wild growing palm trees. Kola is communal property of the family; the elders will consult the rest of the

family, and each house will send one man to gather. Okwa is dealt with in the same way, save that women are sent, and the produce is collected in one place and shared out; grass for the roofs may be collected anywhere.

There is a belief in Awka that sickness may be caused by felling trees; in fact, cutting down an iroko may cause the death of someone unless the doctor divines and sees what is to be done; and generally if a man falls sick through a felled tree he goes to a doctor, who names the sacrifice and names the tree.

At Agolo oil palms on the house land are individual property; anyone in the quarter can cut nuts from trees. In the Nogidi quarter each family has its own bush; anyone of the quarter may go to the bush, but may not collect palm nuts; the trees may be pawned or sold with the exception of kola, which could not be sold. In the Umowgre quarter various trees are owned individually when they are on the house land, otherwise they are communal property, and the fruits are shared out when they are ripe.

At Aguku trees may be sold or pawned, the most valuable being the kola tree, which may be worth £3 or £4; they can sell only what they plant, hence they cannot sell an ojuku tree; they only pawn trees that they have planted and don't pawn kola; trees may go with the land when it is pawned, but ojuku has to be kept apart, and any tree may be reserved.

At Nise trees in the undivided bush are undivided property; the iroko tree is the property of the owner of the land, but if it is in the open place of an alose the quarter owns it; if in the market all Nise.

At Nqfia the trees cannot be pawned with the land, but they may be pawned separately; they never sell trees that bear fruit; they may, however, sell a palm tree that bears a little fruit or is dying. If a man owns a tree on another man's land he has free access at all times, and even if he damages the yams in going to the tree there can be no claim for making good the loss. If a woman owns trees and she leaves her husband they pass to him whether they are on his

land or on other. If a man plants ngwq tree, any seedlings that come are the property of the owner of the land. Iroko on farm land is undivided property.

At Amañsi they can pawn trees or sell them; oil palms in the farm are undivided property. In another quarter, it was stated, they could not even pawn trees; borrowing has to be on the promise of repayment, and if the debtor dies without movable assets the money is lost. At Èbènébè they cannot pawn or sell the trees, and their iroko in the house land cannot be cut down.

SLAVERY.—Although the distinction between house slaves and ordinary slaves was hardly known, the status and prospects of slaves varied considerably in various parts of the Awka district. In addition to the ordinary slaves, sacred slaves were also known, who were given to an alose and lived upon charity; unless a female slave were also given they were forbidden to marry. Broadly speaking, we may distinguish three types of slavery. In the first the condition is perpetual, unless the master chooses to change it. In the second, children regain their free status after a certain number of generations. Intermediate between these stages may be classed that in which a slave is at liberty to purchase his own redemption. The third, a very special class of slaves, were those known as nwalo. They were people, male or female, sent to Aguku to the Èzènrì because they had broken an nsq ani. Once a slave, always a slave, was the rule here, and if a man was sent to the king, his wife and property went to the king also. The king could break down his house, and if an Nri man was not sent to perform a sacrifice, the family of the man would touch none of his property, even with the king's consent. The only information that I received was that they were not allowed to take part in any sacrifices to mwq or alose; such ceremonies as they did perform had to be their hereditary ones, and not those of the family with which they were associated.

On the whole, the lot of slaves appears to have been by no

means a bad one, and there are many people now who are still technically slaves, though they do no work for their old masters, for after he has attained a certain age a slave was exempt from work and rendered only tribute to his master. His master supplied him with a wife and land, for work on which he had one and sometimes two days in the week. Slaves were acquired sometimes by purchase, sometimes in war, sometimes, apparently, by a debtor voluntarily giving himself up in order to rid himself of his debts and get a fresh start.

Native opinion seems to be divided as to the merits of slavery, for it is held, not without justice, that a man overburdened with debt, if he can, should sell himself for the benefit of his creditors and free himself from his load. It is, in fact, a kind of voluntary petition in bankruptcy.

As regards the status of the children of a slave, I was told at Awka that they were treated like children of the house, but I was also informed that they did not buy slaves, hence, if both pieces of information are correct, it is clear that slavery proper did not exist.

In Agolo the distinction between slaves and bought slaves did not exist. The third generation was free, and this even if the second generation had been sold, although it would, of course, be difficult for such children to prove their rights.

At Adaĵi the children of slaves were free, and this was also the case in Umučuku.

At Nise the children of slaves were slaves, and the only way of freeing them was to perform a ceremony on their father. If the master wished to marry the child of a slave he would take a fowl and cook for the ancestors, then he would call the girl, put chalk and water in a pot and wash her face. By treating the man in a similar way his children became free.

At Ugwqba I got a somewhat vague account of the status of the children of slaves which I was unable to verify. I was told that if a slave married the daughter of another slave, the children were divided between the father and

the father-in-law, with the exception of the eldest son, who appears to belong to the master.

At Mbwaku the children of slaves were slaves, but if the master had few children of his own, he might take a goat and sacrifice to the ancestors and declare them free.

At Agolo a slave could redeem himself. A slave legally sold lost civil rights in his own land, he could not go back and claim his wife and children; such a slave would, therefore, usually remain the client of his former master. War slaves, on the other hand, might get leave to go home, and if they were redeemed their civil rights were recovered. If the wife had been given to another husband, the price would be repaid, all children would belong to the original husband.

At Adaĵi, on the other hand, no class of slave appeared to lose civil rights, and if he redeemed himself might claim his property and his wife.

At Nimo when a man was sold, his wife and property went to his brother. If she had sons, she was free to go away when they grew up; otherwise, she passed to his brother as his wife. She might not follow her original husband, though he could take her with him when he went originally.

With regard to the work done by the slave for his master there were two rules in the Awka district.

In Agolo, Adaĵi, Nri, Ugwqba, and Mbwaku he contributed two days' labour, and in Nise and Nqfia three days' labour in a four-day week. It was, however, possible for him to pay a contribution in lieu of all, or part, of this work.

At Qbu no contribution was payable if the slave worked for the master.

At Nqfia, if he had many yams to plant, he would get two extra days from his master, in order to allow him to plant them. When he grew to be a rich man, however, he did no more work for his master, but sent him good yams.

At Ugwqba, where only two days a week were exacted, a hunter would give the legs and chest of any game that he

killed to his master. If he sacrificed a goat in any of his own private ceremonies, the chest and two legs would also go to his master. When a slave dug his yams, the master chose one stick of big yams and one of small yams.

At Nise slaves were inherited by the eldest son, but the property of a dead slave, although in theory belonging to the master, was treated as the inheritance of the eldest son of the slave. The same rule prevailed at Ugwoba.

As regards the ownership of slaves. At Agolo a somewhat different rule prevailed to what was found elsewhere. When slaves were bought they were given to one or other wife of the husband, and passed on the death of the mother to her own children by that marriage. In addition to his mother's share, the eldest son inherited also those slaves who were retained by the father.

At Adaĵi, on the other hand, in the immediate neighbourhood, the slaves were shared out by the children at the conclusion of the burial ceremonies, to pay the expenses of which some might be sold.

Adult slaves were never given to wives, though child slaves might be, and the rule of inheritance in this latter case was the same as that at Agolo. At Nise, on the other hand, a few miles in the other direction, all the slaves were inherited by the eldest son.

At Adaĵi there is a feeling against selling slaves unless it were absolutely necessary. This was comparatively common, especially where the relationship of clientship, and more especially that of sonship, was set up between master and slave.

At Nqfia, for example, where the children of slaves became free, slaves themselves could not be sold. In the places where a sale was permitted, it appears to have been forbidden to separate husband and wife.

At Agolo, slaves in the same family were allowed to marry. Their children or grandchildren, however, might not marry, for they belonged to the master's family; nor, on the other hand, could they marry in their own original family.

At Ugwqba, if a slave had an adult daughter, another slave of the same master might bring a goat, a fowl, and palm wine and offer sacrifice in her father's house. He could then take her as his wife at a price of £5. This the father was permitted to keep if he informed his master, otherwise he was liable to be sold. If a master took a female slave as his wife, a ceremony of some sort was necessary to change her status.

At Aguku a master bought a she goat and a hen and called the qzq members together, telling them that the goat and the fowl were to shave the head of the slave; kola was offered to the ndičie and then the goat and the fowl. After that no one was permitted to call her a slave.

At Nise the master took a fowl and cooked it for the ancestors. He was permitted to marry the daughter of a slave, and to free her he put chalk and water in a pot and washed her face.

At Ačala the rules with regard to marrying slave wives were somewhat peculiar. An Ačala man could not marry an Ačala female slave. When he bought the female slave there was no way of freeing her. At the death of her husband the widow did not lose her slave status, and, apparently, could not get another husband.

At Mbwaku a master could set his wife free in the same way as at Nise.

As regards responsibility for the acts of a slave, the master was not held responsible at Agolo. On the other hand, a slave who stole could be sold or killed and no compensation could be claimed by the master. If a free man killed a slave it was not treated as murder, but he was compelled to pay the value; if one slave killed another he was sold; if the master killed a slave he was regarded as within his rights. If a slave stole from his master he could not be sold at Nqfia, but the master would quarrel with him and threaten to kill him and commit suicide; no food would be supplied to the slave. Such a slave would probably go to work for some other master, but, in that case, he would apparently pay no contribution to his master.

At Nqfia if a slave caught a thief he was permitted to sell him and keep the money, paying the contribution of one she-goat to his master.

At Aëala, on the other hand, it appears that a slave could own no property whatever, anything that he owned was his master's.

MURDER.—On the whole it is extremely difficult to get any information as to the way in which laws were made or administered ; the customs appear to differ from town to town.

Assault, except in the market-place, seems to be a matter of private concern, and the community as a whole seldom took steps to deal with the offenders.

Where a penalty was imposed the holders of the Qzq title, of the Eku title, and the young men generally usually divided the three shares into which the fine was split equally among themselves.

Murder and theft, on the other hand, were matters of public concern. In dealing with the question of murder it is necessary to distinguish four classes of cases. In the first place, where the murdered man and the murderer belong to different towns ; secondly, where they belong to different quarters of the same town ; thirdly, where they belong to different septs of the same quarter ; fourthly, where they belong to the same sept.

Broadly speaking, the effect of a murder of the first class was to set up a state of war between the towns, which might last for two or three years, with a total loss of life of two or three on each side. In some cases, at any rate, the result was the same when a man of one quarter killed a man of another quarter, but this seems to depend to some extent upon whether the quarters are scattered or not. At Ugwqba, where the quarters are widely scattered, one being nearly five miles distant, a war would break out when a man of one quarter killed a man of another, and would last five or six years ; it was not ended when a man was killed on one side, for then the other side came to retaliate. The war might stop if an important man were killed, or, on the other hand, the other

quarters might meet and judge the case; the heads of the killed would be counted. If they were equal on both sides they might stop the war; if not, they went on.

As a rule, however, war is an exceptional incident for an interquarter feud of this sort. At Mbwaku, for example, if a murder of this class were committed the man was hung. If, however, he escaped, nothing was done and no payment was exacted from the family. At Qbu, the houses of the men of the quarter in which the murderer resided might be burnt and their live stock seized. It was, however, distinctly stated that this was not a state of war, for no resistance was permitted.

Turning now to cases where the murdered man and the murderer belong to the same quarter, we find at Qbu that even the house of the murderer was not destroyed, though he himself suffered the penalty of death. If, however, he ran, his family have to pay one bull, one he-goat, one white cock, one pot, four pieces of chalk, one keg of powder, and some cloth. At Ugwqba, if the murderer of a man of his own quarter ran, the family of the murdered man were obliged to accept blood money—namely, £15—if it was offered.

Turning now to the last class of cases, that within the sept, we find that what we may call the small family is driven out, that is to say, sisters, brothers, wives, and children of the murderer. There is no penal adoption and no money payment, only victims for sacrifice. The belief is that all the Mwq and Čuku abuse the murderer and he soon dies. In another quarter of Agolo the small family is driven out in the same way until composition is paid, namely, nine hens, nine she-goats and one woman, thirty shillings for the young men of the family and fifty shillings for the elders of the family. These latter payments were made whether it was a man or a woman who had been killed.

At Nibo, on the other hand, the sub-quarter decided as they pleased how an internal murder should be dealt with. If the father and mother agreed to accept blood money well and good; blood money, I was told, might amount to £100

or more. On the other hand, the case might be settled by handing over a wife. It seems probable that there is a certain amount of temperamental difference between different towns, for at Mbwaku I was told they have never heard of a case of murder within the same sept.

The differences between the towns being considerable, it will be convenient to set forth the law as to murder on a geographical basis. In Awka the *iku* or members of the father's family, and probably also mother's family, were responsible for finding the murderer. If the murderer runs, the matter is at an end; if, on the other hand, he is seized, an expert cross-examiner questions him, and if he denies his guilt they take kola and go to the Alose Ạjoka. Kola is broken and put before Ạjoka; the suspected person stoops down and licks the kola, saying, "If I have killed him let me die; if not, I live." Where a murderer is convicted or confessed he was hung from a tree, or rather hung himself. If a father and son quarrelled and the son killed his father he would suffer the penalty of death. If, on the other hand, the husband kills his wife by beating her he would suffer no penalty, but would have to pay a certain amount of money to her parents.

In Agolo the sept of the murderer was driven out; members of his family might be sold. On the other hand they might agree to pay composition, raising the money probably by selling their children. The composition consisted of a woman who must be freeborn and must marry a member of the family, a piece of chalk, a new pot, a hen, and £2 10s. This latter sum was called the head of a man, *isinwoke*. If there was no suitable woman in the family one is obtained from another quarter, bride price being paid for her as usual. The pot, the fowl, and the chalk go to the head of the family of the murdered man. After the blood money was handed over, nine she-goats and nine hens were killed to the Alose of the murdered man's family, and eaten by men and women. Then the murderer could return. If a stranger committed a murder the people of the compound

in which he was living were held responsible if he paid contributions towards their sacrifices. They would be called upon to hand over a woman. If on the other hand he paid no contributions they had no responsibility.

At Adaĵi, in the case of a murder within the quarter, the sept was driven out, all their property was confiscated or destroyed, anyone they could seize was sold as a slave ; this went on until composition was paid and a woman provided. Singularly enough a seized person would be sold, even if the composition had been paid while he was still in the hands of his captor.

At Nneni the murderer was beaten to death by the family of the dead man ; if he ran the family paid damages. After a sacrifice to the ground and the lapse of one year the murderer might return. The town had some voice in the matter of the composition ; part of the payment was distinguished as for a man's head, part as for a woman's head ; should the town decide that a woman was to be given to the family then no payment would be made for the woman's head ; a man, on the other hand, could not be handed over. If the murderer was beaten to death, then there was no further formality, not even sacrifice to the ground.

At Qbu, customs seem to have differed in different quarters. In one there was a sort of *lex talionis* ; that is to say, if the man was killed with a matchet, the brother of the dead man killed the murderer with a matchet. We have already dealt with the law of composition in Qbu above. In another quarter the murderer was hung. It was the law that the offender could only be killed on the day of the murder ; if he were caught later a white hen, chalk, a native pot, a cow, a goat, and a keg of powder were handed over to the family of the murdered man, the idea being of course that she would bear a child to replace the lost member of the family. If the murderer were killed nothing was given.

I obtained a few details as to the customs of the Aro, a mile or two beyond Qbu. They informed me that a freeman would be hung even years after the offence, and that the

family made a heavy payment, failing which they were driven out.

At Aguku I got two different accounts. According to one, the family of the dead man caught the murderer and hung him from the tree. The other account was that the family of the murdered man begged another family to find the murderer. If the man was not found, the elders effected an arrangement, the usual price being a girl and three cows. Until the composition was paid the houses of the members of his family might be raided, and, according to one account the other members of it left the place for ever, but this appears improbable. If the murderer was hung they called a man from another town to cut him down, paying him one cock for the work. He was buried in the bush, but before making second burial they had to perform a ceremony of purification, and an Umudianan man was called who struck a fowl on the ground; one hen was sacrificed to the big Ajana, one to the small Ajana; second burial could then be performed.

At Enugu a murderer was hung; if he ran the whole of the property of the quarter might be seized, and it was explained that by quarter they meant one of the main divisions of the town, such as Ifitana. The composition was £10 for a man and one girl; for a woman, a woman was handed over. A mediator was summoned from a neighbouring town, Nise or Nimo, and their fee was £1 in cowries. If a murder were committed within the quarter the property of the man's family was seized and £30 and one girl paid.

At Nimo, which differs in some respects from its neighbours, a murderer was hung if he was caught. The composition was £5 for a man and £2 for a woman; but, according to the statement made to me, only the brothers would be driven out, if payment were not made.

At Nibo a murderer was seized and hung. People collected and hauled the man up into a tree, sometimes making him drunk first, or they might let him live two days and give him abundance of good food before he paid the

penalty. If the murderer ran, the family of the murdered man decided what compensation to ask for; if it was not paid there would be war. Other quarters might join in and drive the offending quarter from the town. If they go to war, the murderer's wife took her children to her father's house; she could not remarry; if composition was paid the murderer could return.

At Nise, according to one account, the family might agree to purchase a wife for the murdered man's family, failing this, property was seized and destroyed, but no one was ever hung. This, however, appears to be wrong, for informants from another quarter said that they could not take money to buy a man off. If the man was hung there was no payment of any sort; if he ran he was counted as hung, and the family which had scattered to other towns could return. Fratricide was apparently not punished.

I got various accounts at Nqfia. In one quarter they said that if a murdered man were found they tried to find the murderer for twelve days. If they had a suspected person under arrest during this period they would hang him if he did not confess; till then they watched him, to see if he would commit suicide. If the culprit were known a rope was brought and the murderer took it and hung himself.

In the other quarter I was told that, if the man ran, the family of the murdered man would seize the murderer's property and call on his family to pay one girl. If strong enough they might fight in the houses and drive the offenders out. Peace would be made in the case of a murder, where the parties belonged to different quarters, by the sons of the women who had married from one quarter into the other taking two fowls and killing them, one in each quarter. Then one young man of each family would shake hands.

Curiously enough, if there was fighting, the market would go on as usual, but of course enemies could not attend it. If a murderer ran, and returned after a substitute had been paid, it was possible to send the woman back and hang the murderer. I was also told that the man's child could be

handed over to be hung in his place, or that one of his brothers might be seized, but this appears rather improbable. If however, a brother or son were shot, that was clearly a set-off against the murder, and the palaver was at an end.

At Amañsi a murderer was hung; if he ran, then there were no payments and no destruction of property. In the case of a murderer of another town, of course, the ordinary rules prevailed.

At Ugwqba it has already been pointed out how the scattered nature of the towns affects the law as to murder. In the case of a murder in the same quarter the murderer was hung and the family ransomed his house. The brother of the murdered man gave the rope to the criminal and his own family told him to climb up. On the other hand they told me in another quarter that no houses were destroyed. The redemption price was seven goats for the father's family, £5 for the mother's family. I enquired here as to what happened if a man killed a woman, and was told only payment was claimed; but if a woman killed a woman she would be hung; if a woman killed a man her husband or son could be hung, and consequently had to flee; failing a husband or son, they would catch the woman, go to her village and take either her brother or the person who had received bride price for her. An account from another quarter said that if a murderer ran they did not look for him, but paid five goats to the people of the dead man's mother, three pieces of iron and two goats to the father's family, and a girl to his father or brother. If a man was killed by a woman her brother or son was hanged, but not her husband; if a woman was killed by a man the compensation was £20, that is, the ordinary bride price.

At Eḃeṇḃe, in a different linguistic area, though geographically close to Ugwqba the law was different. If a man killed a woman, or a woman killed a man, he or she would be hung.

At Mbwaku if a man of one quarter killed a man of another he was hung; if he ran, nothing was done. The same

was the case if a man of one sept killed a man of another sept in the same quarter. They had never heard of one member of the same sept killing another. If a man killed a woman he was hung; but if it were his wife a goat and a fowl would be taken to make second burial, and there was an end to the matter. They never heard of a woman killing a man.

In Ačala a murderer was hung, but if he ran the family was not responsible; they never heard of a man killing a woman. If it were an affair between people of different towns, the culprit or a substitute, who must be a freeman, had to be brought. A woman could not be given.

At Ibwariam a murderer was hung; if he ran there were no proceedings, but before the murderer could return, a girl, a she-goat, and a hen had to be paid.

Accidental homicide is well recognised apparently. The Aro people take one cow, one goat, one fowl, chalk, an eagle feather, and a keg of powder, and the head of the town judges the case.

At Enugu £5 compensation is paid. At Ibwariam, if one man kills another by accident on a shooting expedition, a goat and a fowl are sacrificed to the ana in the house of the dead man by his brother. Considerable strictness, however, exists as to the proof of accident: at Ačala the culprit has to go and admit his misfortune; if not it might be reckoned as murder, and if the gun were found to be reloaded this would be taken as presumptive evidence of intention.

At Awka the culprit paid a goat and a fowl, which was sacrificed in the town after being driven round to cleanse it. The body of the dead man had also to be brought, and the words spoken "Let the blood of a freeborn man not spoil the ground."

In Eziokpa, when a man is guilty of accidental homicide, he is banished. All Qzq members of Awka judged in any quarter in any case referred from a family, and enforced justice in person.

Justifiable homicide was equally well, or better,
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recognised. At Awka witchcraft, provided the witch were on another man's premises, theft by day or night, adultery, and self-defence were all recognised as releasing the killer of a man from blood guiltiness.

At Agolo self-defence was recognised as a just cause for killing a man: in some quarters thieves could also be killed whether they climbed the wall of the house or stole in the farm; but I did not ascertain whether, as is usual, this applied only to theft at night, but as it was stated that the stolen object had to be put upon the chest of the thief it seems clear that it applies to night.

At Amañsi killing a thief was likewise not murder; the stolen object was put upon the body and the friends were allowed to carry it off.

At Ugwqba killing a thief was permitted by day or night, but in the daytime, if he were recognised, the owner might wait.

At Mbwaku, on the other hand, a thief in the day had to be seized; a thief at night might be killed and his body had to be put into the middle of the road. It is obvious that this law gave considerable latitude to a man who wished to pay off a private score, but killing a man and declaring him to be a thief was one of the things forbidden for the ana.

THEFT.—The ordinary punishment for theft in the greater part of the Awka district seems to have been to sell the culprit as a slave, if he had not already suffered death in accordance with the laws as to justifiable homicide. In one quarter of Awka the family could redeem him, according to the statement made to me, at any time from two months up to one year; if the thief denied his guilt the family might refuse to allow him to be sold; all the members of his kin would put their hands on his back and swear by some *alose* through him; then the *alose* would kill him or cause him to swell up if he were guilty. The extreme punishment was not always inflicted in the case of small children; a small girl might have pepper put in her eyes and be flogged.

At Agolo a thief was sold as a slave; half the price went

to the loser, half to the members of the Amañulu grade. If a straying fowl were detained in a house after the owner had called for the lost fowl, and no answer were given, it was accounted as theft. Here, as in most places, if a thief could not be found an alose was hired, carried to the place where the theft took place, and, after the sacrifice of a fowl, called upon to kill the thief.

At Adađi the money resulting from the sale of a thief was divided between the Qzq members (see p. 76) and the loser. A goat was brought to sacrifice to the ana, and the meat divided among the Qzq members. He might redeem himself, but in any case the goat had to be provided.

At Qbu the thief was seized and his house broken down.

At Aguku it was forbidden to cut a wall at night or to thief. A culprit was knocked on the ground and dragged round until he died. In ordinary cases a thief was given to Adama people who took qfq, struck him on the head with it, and sold him, retaining the money themselves.

At Enugu thieves were sold and their goods seized, a she-goat and a cow were taken to the Ađana, and they said "This man has done a forbidden thing, let him not dwell in our land any more."

At Nimo the money from the sale of the thief was divided into three shares, one for the Qzq members, one for the Eku members and young men, and one for the loser. Whether in the same quarter or not is uncertain, but there was a custom in Nimo of paying one cow to the Qzq members in case of theft. If the thief asked his brother to pay the cow he was compelled to do this, otherwise he would die; the cow was sacrificed to Udo. I got a further account from another quarter, from which it appears that the man who caught the thief gave one pot of palm wine and one bottle of gin to the Qzq and Eku members and young men.

Apparently the property of the thief was shared out in Ifitenu into four, the three grades mentioned above getting one each. If a thief ran he could pay £4 and then return. A she-goat and a hen had also to be contributed; the senior

Qzq member got the hen; the Qzq and Eku members took the goat to Eke market and killed it.

A thief's land could be taken until he returned, that is, if he ran. If he was sold his son or brother would succeed in the ordinary way; his house might be broken down, but his wife's house had to remain unharmed. At Nibo selling was the ordinary penalty. The decision, in case of doubt as to whether the mentioned price was too big, was left to the old men. Where there was only suspicion the proceedings appear to be decidedly informal. The old men decided whether the suspected men should try alose or not, and if no decision, or an adverse decision was reached, the thief's brother would probably take a goat and some palm wine to the house of the loser and beg for mercy. The brother is ordinarily surety for the thief.

At Nise the loser received half the fine—namely, £1 5s.—if the thief were a man of his own quarter; he was also allowed to seize the thief's property. A thief from another quarter was sold in the ordinary way. A preliminary to the selling of the thief was apparently the sacrifice of a goat to the Ndičie; the family could redeem him, but only for the first offence. If the thief were unknown the procedure was to take one of the big alose, Ngene or Obuba, and call on it to kill the culprit, saying, "Alose, kill the man who has stolen my banana and kill his reincarnation too."

At Nqfia the ordinary rule prevailed, and I got the following information. If a son stole from his father, the father called the family together, they killed a big goat in the town, and the culprit had to pay for it; in the case of brothers, the loser might choose either method at his discretion. At Nqfia £10, the price of the thief, went to the whole of Nqfia if a cow were stolen, or rather £3 in money was divided amongst them. To find the thief, the recognised procedure is to take an alose out on the road and draw a line with the foot. Then the alose is taken away, and when the thief crosses the line the alose catches him.

At Amañsi, where theft is probably comparatively rare, an

ordinary thief is cursed and tied up with string; pepper is put in his eyes. But perhaps the most severe part of the punishment is that he is kept outside when they are drinking palm wine. This only relates to theft within the same sept. A man of a different family might be sold, and so would an habitual thief.

At Ugwoba a thief of another quarter might be sold if he did not redeem himself. Other cases of theft were dealt with by tying the culprit up in the sun, laughing at him and cursing him. In the Agwosi quarter a thief was not sold; the redemption price was £15 or £20; or a woman might be handed over, or else the thief might go and work for the man he had wronged. They stated that they had no home-bred thieves.

Ẹbẹnẹ thieves were sold, with certain exceptions. The same was the case at Mbwaku; an accessory before or after the fact was held to be equally guilty.

At Ačala a fowl, a goat, and 7s. were paid by the family of the thief, then he suffered no further penalty.

At Ibwariam they have no thieves, except strangers. If a thief were seized, men were summoned, and thief and stolen object publicly exhibited. The witness of a theft was held to be a thief unless he tried to seize the thief.

Theft in the market was dealt with as a rule on very different lines from ordinary theft. In other parts of Africa the death penalty is often inflicted on the spot. In Southern Nigeria a milder rule prevails, and beyond refund, sometimes of double the value of the stolen object, a market thief at Awka suffers nothing except abuse and the throwing of dust on him.

At Agolo a market thief was dragged round the market by the women, and others throw dust on him; in another quarter he is only fined 6d. and a few cowries; in another quarter, again, the rule was stated to be that the women fell upon the man and stripped him of all he had, from which it appears that theft in the market is uncommon, for there are only two market-places in Agolo.

At Adaji the culprit was seized and dust thrown upon him

or her by people of the same sex. At Qbu stealing in the market was punished by a fine of 1s. 6d. and the usual dust throwing. At Enugu the fine was double the value, and dust was thrown. At Nimo the penalty was slightly more severe, though the offence was not regarded as theft proper. The culprit was beaten and the Qzq members went to his house and killed a cow. At Nibo they laugh and shout at the man, but there is no penalty beyond replacing the stolen object.

At Ugwqba a woman is fined 5s. by the women of her own quarter. At Mbwaku people would keep their eye upon a market thief, for he is a man who steals from the alose, which is found in every market-place.

In some respects the laws as to the stealing of plants, and sometimes even of fowls and goats, differed considerably from the ordinary laws of theft. At Agolo, for example, a man who stole okwa seeds would be abused, a man who stole palm nuts or coconuts would be dealt with in the same way until he paid the fine.

At Nqfia a man who stole okwa was fined one big pot; if he stole corn the woman who owned it would shout and take the man to the chief; the fine of 5s. would be divided among all the women.

At Ugwqba a man who stole okwa would only be laughed at; a woman would be fined 5s., which went to the women of her quarter. The regulations with regard to okwa were even more complicated than appears from this account. Okwa seed fallen to the ground could be picked up by anyone; anyone who threw sticks, etc., at the trees to knock it down could carry it off if undetected; anyone who climbed a tree to take it was accounted a thief. At Awka, on the other hand, no one but friends of the owner might pick up seed from the ground. At Ebeñebè there was a regular system of fines. A man who stole a goat, for example, was beaten and tied up. Ashes and water mud were thrown upon him, and he was taken to market for all to laugh at. He then had to buy himself free at the cost of £5 or more.

Corn was put down at £8, koko yams £5, a fowl £2, okwa £1, fish from the trap 5s., palm nuts 4s., a banana 2s., and a coconut one fowl.

DEBT.—In the matter of treatment of debtors the law is comparatively simple. In Awka, if a debtor died his heir was responsible, proof of the debt being given by oath before an *alose*; even if the debt were larger than the estate the heir had to pay, and if he refused the creditors referred the matter to the *Qzq* members; they might order the farm, farm trees, and so on to be seized, and announced their decision by beating drums. The property was vested in them and worked for the benefit of the creditor, until the debtor asked for a meeting and agreed to sell part of his own property. They did not seize a man's earnings, nor yet the shares from different grades that he might have bought; they might, however, be transferred at will to the creditors. A debt may be transferred, if one is owing to a debtor; the creditor must of course agree, but once the debt is transferred, the creditor's rights over the original debtor are extinguished. A host is not responsible for his guest unless he agrees to act as guarantor. In the case of a living debtor the usual course was to seize him and sell him, if he could not meet his debts; for a small debt a goat or other property might be seized.

At Agolo, the debtor himself might not be seized, but another person of his quarter, whose family would then look for the debtor, and might also seize five or ten people of the family who took the pawn. This went on till fighting began.

At Aguku a creditor would go to his debtor every day and finally take six hundred cowries, and call the *Qzq* members to market, asking them to stop his debtor from working or travelling until he paid; each refusal to obey cost him five shillings, and as a final resource his land might be seized by the *Qzq* members and held by the creditor. Yams, koko yams, and plants would not be seized; here also it was a dangerous thing to perform second burial for a debtor, for by so doing a man made himself responsible for the debts; even a man called as a witness to

a business transaction could be called upon to pay the debt of a debtor who died without means.

If an Aguku man owed money to an Oniča man the Oniča man might seize the property of any man in Aguku, whereupon the owner could go and enquire what the debt was, and there would be palaver if the animal seized were worth much more than the amount of the debt. The owner could fight to prevent his animals being seized, and the debtor and owner would take the goat to the creditor, the debtor paying the value to the owner. Certain animals could not be seized under any circumstances; such are goats which have been offered to the ancestors, not as victims, but to be kept alive, and any animal offered to an alose.

LOANS.—In connection with debt may be mentioned the subject of loans. Interest varied, and no precise rate can be given because the amount repayable did not necessarily depend upon the length of the term; it would be 25 per cent. or 50 per cent. whatever length of time the money was lent for.

At Qbu, the following the example was given to me: if a man borrowed 10s. for one year at 50 per cent., and 10s. the next year at the same rate, the sum repayable would be £2 5s., which obviously appears to be a mistake for £1 15s. If after that he borrowed another £2 he would repay £6 for the three years; this again does not quite agree with the principles given me. They said they could agree that interest should be for the whole term or for the term of three years' grace, or so much per annum; when the term was up the creditor could send a message weekly or monthly, or he could take a palm leaf and put it on the crops of the debtor and wait for their ripening.

TAKING CHARGE.—The case of taking charge is not quite on all fours with that of a loan, though in point of fact the handing over might be purely for the benefit of the bailee. If a man takes charge of a goat and it bears a kid he sends notice to the owner in five months and tells him to take it; the second one goes to the owner, the third to the bailee, after that they take alternately. If the goat dies, its body

must be carried to the owner ; if it is stolen, the owner has to call his family and go to the thief, all of whose property will be seized ; half went to the Qzq members and half to the holder of the animal.

At Nqfia, three pups out of five go to the owner of a dog, and the same for a sheep or goat. If one woman begs another for a dog the pups are shared ; a small boy can get a fowl to look after, and the chickens are shared ; palm trees may, in a certain sense, be put in charge of a man, and he gets one-third of the produce as his share, but on this point see p. 135.

RIGHTS WITHIN THE FAMILY.—It has already been mentioned in connection with land that, at Awka, a son might sell his father's property ; the rule was the same at Nqfia, and if a son took his father's money it was not regarded as stealing. Apart from flogging, the only legal method for a husband to deal with a disobedient wife was for him to say, " May they knock the front wall down for me," *i.e.*, for burial rites ; the family would then assemble and probably compel the woman to obey. She would have to bring one hen for the ancestors, strike it on her chest, and give it to her husband ; the husband would do the same, beg on behalf of his wife and kill the fowl on the images of the ancestors.

ASYLUM.—Before leaving the subject of law, mention should be made of a custom of which I only obtained information at Mbwaku. It seems here that a man who ran to the enclosure of an *alose* would find asylum. Igwilo once made war on Mbwaku for a man who had taken refuge.

A man who was in trouble, asked Ofufe to watch over him ; then he was " *onye alose*." No one could take him away, and he had nothing to do. Mbwaku would fight to protect him. He could not be touched, even if he murdered a Mbwaku man ; they could at most beg Ofufe to let them hang him, and one may suspect that this supplication would be successful if the man was unpopular.

WOMAN'S PROPERTY.—The general position with regard to women's property, apart from inheritance, appears to be ill-

defined. This also points to the fact that it is only lately that women have begun to have in their possession material wealth in sufficient quantity to interest the male sex. On the other hand, of course, it may be suggested that it is only with the advent of European rule that women have been able to stand up for their rights, and that before that time the husband was able to appropriate all that his wife earned. However this may be, women at the present day appear to appreciate the strong position which the white man's law gives them, and in some cases they take their husbands into court in disputes over money matters. The men strongly object to this, and in more than one place I was asked to advocate the passing of a law "that any woman who took her husband into court should be put into prison, whether she won her case or not."

We have seen the married woman's property goes to her sons, or failing sons to her husband.

A widow, too, has only very restricted rights over anything in the domain of her first husband. At Mbwaku she can at most take crops from the land of her first husband to the house of her second husband, but this only if she does not marry outside the Umunna (sept), though it is held that during her husband's lifetime both her money and her koko yams are her own property, and her husband cannot take them.

At Enugu they hold that a betrothed girl can trade in the market, and her gains, if she died before removing to her husband's house, would go to her brothers; after her removal to her husband, in the absence of children, a woman begins trading with her father's and her mother's money, but I could not ascertain that either of them were regarded as having any claim.

As a rule, it is held that a man can go to his wife's yam store and help himself, and that a wife can equally use from her husband's store, though not for the purpose of trading.

At Amañsi a woman who traded with yams from her husband's store could be flogged and made to pay the value.

With regard to money, it is commonly held likewise that the wife's money is at the disposal of the husband. This was the case at Nise.

At Nqfia, on the other hand, it was held that a husband could not take his wife's money without asking her. That he could take it in her absence, provided he told her on her return; but that a loan of this description was a loan, and had to be repaid. On the other hand, it was also said that if the husband took it from the wife it was not stealing.

At Amañsi the same view was taken as to the inviolability of the woman's property, and it was added that if the husband did not tell his wife of the loan made in her absence from her savings she would take an alose and carry round, on the supposition that a thief had been at work. The result of this would be that the husband would die. It appears, therefore, that unless the alose is rather discriminating, a husband who conceals his borrowing is regarded as a thief.

At Ibwariam, on the other hand, it was held that a contribution of this sort need not be paid back, for the wife is the property of the husband.

At Nqfia it was held that a husband does not own the property of his wife and that if he took it the family would intervene. On the other hand, on the death of the husband the widow must contribute towards the expenses of the second burial, but cannot take the surplus away from the house.

A more difficult question arises if the husband and wife separate.

At Nqfia a wife may take nothing with her save her clothes. If she attempts to remove anything the husband can stop her, but it is not stealing. If, on the other hand, she goes away and returns to remove things, it is apparently stealing.

At Mbwaku the same rule prevails.

At Ibwariam a wife who runs from her husband can be stopped from taking her property. If, on the other hand, she gets off with it, she can go to her destination without let or hindrance.

On the whole, therefore, the theory of women's property appears to be in an unsettled state. There is no uniformity, even within the limits of a single town, much less over any wider area. If questions of women's property are to be decided in the courts on rational grounds native opinion needs to be guided, for there is no native law—properly so called—that the courts can administer.

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XII.—SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

CALENDAR AND ASTRONOMY.—I made a good many enquiries about the calendar, but the ideas seemed to be vague in the extreme; twenty-eight days go to the month, which begins whenever the moon shows itself, but as to how many months they have there is great uncertainty, and different places begin their year at different times: September, for example, is the seventh month for Nibo, the ninth for Nqfia, and the tenth for Enugu. Amañsi reckons only ten months and one *qvulevu*.

As far as regards the week (*izu*) the days are Eke, Oye, Afq, Nkwq, these are the same names as those of the Bini, but the days Afq and Oye are in inverted order; it is at present idle to speculate on the origin of the names.

On the whole the Ibo seem to be singularly incurious about heavenly bodies and occurrences. At Aguku they say when a new moon comes the stars come together one by one and the moon gets big; then the stars go and the moon disappears. When there is no moon they say the moon is fasting. There is a children's celebration at the time of the new moon of which I got no explanation. The girls meet together in some open space and eat *okwa* and drink palm wine.

At Nibo when the new moon comes out they salute it with "u-u u-u u-u;" "Don't let disease catch me nor a bad *mwq*."

I got names for the following heavenly bodies at Aguku: Pleiades, known as the hen and chickens; Orion's belt, known as three and three; a constellation, possibly the Great Bear, was known as *obazuligwe*, and *Qdqguma* was also suggested as a name for it. A halo round the full moon

is recognized, and a halo round the sun is a great portent. What I gathered was the evening star is called *okomekume*, the wise man who can talk. A meteor is known as *ekili*: a doctor lights a fire when he is going travelling, when he burns he puts his load on them and medicine on the fire, and it all flies to his destination. The sun goes back at night and cannot be seen.

At Agolo they said people used to say the sun came out of the water, that is to say, it was reflected in the river when it was rising; a halo is called *urukbu*, a cover; a rainbow *akwege*, a cloth with marks.

At Awka, on the other hand, a rainbow is known as *uguro*, which means a frightful thing.

At various times I observed a phenomenon which I have never noticed in Europe. After rain, and before a second downpour, when the sky is heavily overcast, except possibly overhead a rumbling sound is heard resembling some huge boiler overhead. This is known as *milinzezo nakpom*; rain is falling at Akpom was the translation given me. The same thing is known in the Yoruba country, and called *obogwe*, a word used when a man goes far from his fellows without telling them what he is going to do; they say the rain is trying to fall and cannot fall properly.

TECHNOLOGY.—*IČI MARKING*.—The most conspicuous mark carried by a man is the face mark known as *iči*; this is made, as a rule, when he is already full grown, but in the case of the son of the *Ẹzẹnri* the operation has to be performed fourteen days after birth.

The ceremonies vary in different places. They are perhaps most elaborate at Adaĵi, for there they involve ceremonies during the burial rites.

As a rule the patient cannot see for several days, though his face is carefully washed for at least twelve days. A certain amount of charcoal from the cooking pots appears to be rubbed into the face after it has been cut, and in some cases leaves are put upon the face and changed twice daily.



ĨCI MARKS AND HAIR DRESSING.

At Nibo the marking is in the seventh month; before marking the man rubs camwood and puts uli (black marks) every day; he also sacrifices nine fowls to various alose; on the day of the operation he kills a fowl on the hole of various ants' nests. He kills one for the water hole at the back of the house, and makes various other sacrifices; the doctor brings water mud in a pot, various plants are put in and the head of the fowl so that the man may not die; a second doctor makes medicine for him to eat. Before lying down the candidate makes a noise resembling yodling which is called iči shouting. During the operation someone else continues it; if he moves or shakes, he is considered to be disgraced. When he is properly healed he goes to market and dances; some months after that he takes a roasted crab to market and eats it there.

So far as I could discover the iči marking is seldom or never fatal, though the marks may spoil and unsightly lumps result.

BLACKSMITHS.—I made a good many attempts to see the Awka blacksmiths at work, but it appears that the greater part of their labour is done on their travels, and those who had their tools at home, whether from jealousy of trade secrets, or mere indolence, never carried out their promises to let me see them at work.

A boy begins to learn at eight or nine, mainly by travelling with workers; there are two kinds of training, one for iron and one for brass; the test for a blacksmith is to make small knives and holes, and if they pass muster the man can become a journeyman, probably at the age of 27 or so. He goes on with this work until he has a son old enough to take his place. A brass worker makes small brass plates and then bigger ones, and on passing this test can travel.

Before a journeyman goes out he prepares food and the head of the family is invited to say, "so and so is going on his journey may all be prosperous, ancestors and good spirits be with him behind and before." Then the sacrifice is

performed which is customary, and is described under the head of sacrifice. A doctor decides where the man is to go, and in some families he only stays out five months and returns in the sixth to make his okwo feast, a fine is payable to the family if he overstays his time.

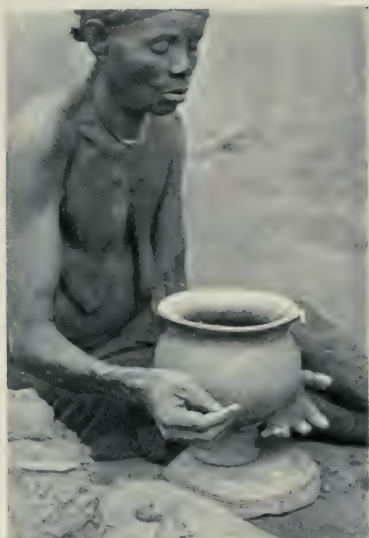
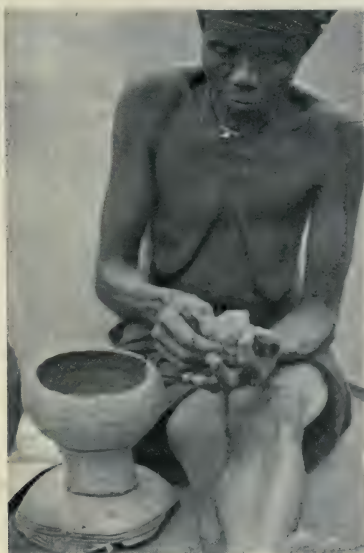
According to another account a learner first works the bellows, then he makes needles, which were formerly used as currency, then finger rings, razors, chains.

Although I saw no man at work I had some opportunity of judging of the skill of the blacksmiths; the strut of one of the legs of a collapsible table had on it a brass shoe fitting with a sort of claw over the strut and further secured by three screws; it was made fast to the cross-piece of the leg by a slot passing over a staple; there was a bend in the middle and this was where it broke. I took the two pieces to a blacksmith, described to him what had to be done, sketched the angle at which the shoe should be, and asked him to bring the result for me to see. A few days later he brought the shoe up, with claw, screw holes, and slot; it fitted perfectly and no adjustment whatever was needed. It was a piece of work which would be creditable to a European blacksmith.

POTTERY.—Pottery making I saw in the Awka district does not differ essentially in its processes from those that I saw among the Edo-speaking peoples.

There is a certain amount of differentiation among the women who make the pots, some can only make small pots; in some towns basins are made and in some towns large water pots. A woman sometimes learns the trade from her mother and, apparently, sometimes from her neighbours when she comes to a pot-making town. It seems to be rare for an emigrant from a known pot-making town to become a centre from which the art spreads.

Some at least of the potters do no other work. In the case of one woman whom I interrogated, she made no farm and devoted herself entirely to making pots, which she baked every five or seven days, visiting three markets besides her



POT MAKING AT NQFIA.

own in turn, distant on an average about four miles. The pots were fair-sized water-pots, though not so large as those made at Osun Agidi. She made about forty in a batch and sold them both wholesale and retail, the wholesale price was sixty cowries—a little over one halfpenny—the retail price ninety cowries—nearly one penny.

I observed the whole process of pot-making at Nqfia. The following objects were provided :—a flat dish as a rest for the broken neck of a calabash, on which the pot had to rest. A piece of calabash used for rounding the sides of the interior, a leaf of bokqkba for smoothing the mouth, a stick called obala for smoothing the sides, a pot of water with odala leaf in it, and a smoother for the mouth called akẹlẹka and, at a later stage, ola bark and a mineral called nčala for producing a varnish. Two pots were made, one a soup pot standing about six or eight inches high with a neck to it, the other a flat open pot for grinding pepper in. The first process was to wet the clay and work it. When this was done it was picked over so that no stones might be in it; then a handful of clay was taken and rolled out in the hand; this roll was held in the right hand and flattened out in the left until a nearly flat disc was produced about twice as big as the bottom of the pot was eventually to be; the sides of this were raised and additional rolls of clay put on.

When it was high enough for the neck to be put on the outside was smoothed with obala, then the vertical neck was put on and smoothed also. Next it was bent over and smoothed with a leaf and then the belly of the pot was enlarged with a piece of calabash. After this the narrowed neck was again smoothed with obala; the bottom of the pot was thinned out with the hand, a rim was cut out in the neck with akẹlẹka, and a calabash was taken to level the bottom and to effect final smoothing. The process was virtually the same in the case of an open pot.

The work was done in the middle of the rainy season when there is not much sun, and in order to allow the pots to become partially dry they are stood out to dry for three days

Then the mineral called *něala*, dug up in the farm land of Nimo, was applied and rubbed in with a smooth stone, with strokes made in three different directions.

Before the final burning the pots were rough dried with a light fire of grass; for the final baking the midrib of palm trees and light wood was used. When the fire died down the pots were picked out with the aid of a stick, and while they were still hot a decoction of fresh *ola* bark was applied with the aid of palm tree fibre. This causes the pot to become glossy and reddish in colour. If fire were applied after the *ola* decoction has been put upon the pot, the colour becomes black.

I saw another woman making somewhat larger pots and obtained the following information from her. Her work was done on a much larger scale, she baked on an average six to eight pots a day as mentioned above. If the smoke spoilt the pot and blackened it, she baked it again as the value would otherwise be decreased. If the rain came on while they were being baked, there was no remedy, the pots had to spoil. It is somewhat singular that the device of having a small roof over the pots that are being burned does not seem to have occurred to any of the potters. If the heat of the fire is too great small cracks appear which makes the pot too porous, to remedy this, it is rubbed with *koko* yam seed, until the cracks are invisible.

A cold decoction of *ola* is used for ordinary pots and it is put on when the pot is hot enough to evaporate the water in about 10 seconds. A second dose is applied about 10 minutes later. For a pot which goes on the fire, a boiled decoction of *ola* is used.

At Osun Agidi I saw some of the processes connected with the making of large water pots. They were already completed when I reached the spot, and two women were engaged in rough drying them with a grass fire. They were manipulated in an exceedingly clever manner with two sticks, one inside as a support and one outside to turn the pot round with. There was also a food pot with a very solid handle projecting

from one side. Towards evening the two women brought their pots to an open space with a quantity of firing and built them up in two layers. A foundation of wood was made for the fire and then grass was spread all over. As the grass burnt away new fuel was added roots downmost, but towards the end of the burning the grass was put in roots uppermost; to avoid any excessive draught, exposed places were covered up with ashes. A stick was used as a probe to ascertain whether all the wood was burned away.

After the pots were taken out of the fire *ola* was rubbed on the brim and on the knobs placed just below the neck, and the pot was reburned to blacken these portions. There is no doubt that the knobs below the neck originally served for decorative purposes, but in the particular case which I witnessed, they also served for property marks, one of the women putting one knob, and the other two knobs. After *ola* had been applied to the brim it was again applied in six vertical bands and the work was finished.

AGRICULTURE.—FARM WORK.—The ordinary procedure is to clear the grass by firing it; on the third day men and women begin to plant; many people weed thirty days after planting, at any rate, the ground is weeded over twice after that; the yams that are produced vary considerably in the time that they take to come to maturity.

According to the statements made to me, a man can plant from 300 to 400 yams a day, or, if the ground is heavy from 200 to 350.

In *Ivitqka*, when they are thinking of going to farm, they throw food on the ground before eating, saying, "Ana lie, ground eat." The doctor may divine and say that a man's farm wants a fowl, a goat, or a ram; these are then sacrificed to the ground to keep animals from destroying the crops; blood is poured out in the centre of the farm, and meat cut up and put on *obwaĵa*; each farmer then puts one on his own land.

Where there are trees upon the farm the work of clearing has to be done in December and January, for tree felling and

the cutting of branches of big trees demands much more time than the simple firing of the grass; sometimes they plant corn in the yam field.

In Eziqka yams are grown every three years and koko yams in the two intervening years, or the land may lie fallow for one year and beans may then be grown. Koko yams are planted in the garden farm every year and manured with ashes, rotting grass, and so on.

In Aguku, rubbish, grass and ashes are applied to yams as well as koko yams; different kinds of koko yams are found, ede enwenwa, ede empe, ede akeke, ede oma, ede embuliči, ede eko; of yams *ji oiča*, *ji ntume*, *ji abia*, *ji adaka*, *ji abana*, *ji aga*, *ji aiyobe*, *ji oku*, *ji ukoli*, and others; *ji abana* and *ji abia* are ripe in the seventh month, *ji oiča* in the ninth, and other yams and koko yams in the tenth. Spoilt yams may be hung in the sun and dried, and good yams are occasionally treated in the same way; koko yams require to be kept cool, and are put in the room; all yams from the garden farm are buried, *ji adaka*, for example, is buried for seven days after cleaning, then they tie it up and put it out where it will get plenty of sun; in the dry season it is covered with palm leaves; field yams are dug in the dry season and keep better.

Big koko yams are brought inside the house and covered with stones; small koko yams are put in the house, and in the dry season water is poured on them; a plaintain trunk is laid on them to keep them cool. Before the yams are full-grown it is the custom to thin them, partly in order to ensure the better growth of the others and partly to provide seed yams.

HIRING LABOUR.—It appears to have been comparatively common for young men to hire themselves out. I got a specially good account of the custom in Nqfia; if an old man's wall fell down, for example, a young man could offer to build it up, the unit of measurement being a bamboo rod, and the price one shilling per measure; in the same way a young man would collect firewood, leaves for goats, and so

on. When an old man begged a young one to come and work for him he would give him cocoanut and cassava, and palm wine later, together with four yams or two hundred and forty cowries for a boy or sixpence for a young man; if a woman hired labour, cassava, coconut, yams, abača, and fish would be supplied, but she would not pay cowries or yams; if what had to be provided was mud for koko yams. boiled okwa and yams were given, but she cooked no food at night, promising some when the yams had grown. In the koko yam harvest 60 cowries would go to a helper. Small koko yams are cooked together with meat or fish at night.

If a man saw good ground for *raphia vinifera*, he could plant some and notify the owner when they grew. In this case the shares would be equal; if neither planter nor owner knew how to make palm wine another man would be called in, and he would get one-third. The owner of a palm nut tree gave one-third of the nuts to a young man who cut them for him.

PALM OIL.—There is a considerable amount of palm oil made, though a good deal of tapping of trees also for palm wine goes on. In many places, however, the people seem to be singularly indolent about the production of palm oil. At Nqfia they told me that they used no water because it was not plentiful, and because palm oil made with water smells, though probably if they had cared to make the experiment, they could keep the first palm oil themselves and trade the washes; the method of dealing with the palm nuts is to cut them off and put them in a pot without water for five days, then then they are pounded and the kernels picked out; the pot is put upon the fire and the husks are dried and squeezed in the hands; both husks and kernels are subsequently employed for making fires.

PALM WINE.—Three kinds of palm wine are recognized—Nku, Olo and Ngwq. In case of the first, when the palm flower opens, a knife is taken and the covering leaf cut away; then a hole is bored with a small knife and a calabash and spout, ami, put in. This can be done at any time, and it does not kill the tree.

For the second kind a line a foot long is cut at the top of the tree, a cross stick is tied, to which the calabash is made fast, a hole is bored at the bottom of the cut and the spout put as before ; this is done in the third month ; the tree does not die unless a kind of ant known as ago gets inside.

For the third kind, from the raphia, the time for beginning is when four leaves are on it ; all four can be cut off, but the tree dies after yielding for three months.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—The commonest musical instruments are drums, of which many sorts are found, some wooden, with a slit down the middle, the larger ones single, the smaller ones in pairs ; although I have no proof of the existence of drum language, it is the latter which would be employed ; another sort of wooden drum is a long one with skin over the end ; there are also short wooden drums of the same kind. Next to the drums comes, perhaps, the flute, of which two or three kinds are made of wood, and one is made of calabash covered with the skin of a cow. In the case of this latter four kinds of playing are distinguished, one for wrestling, one for resting after wrestling, one for making walls, and one for drinking palm wine. I have found only one type of rattle in use of wicker-work filled with seeds or small stones ; stringed instruments are not found at all, with the exception of the musical bow ; but a piano made of small tongues of bamboo and played with the thumbs is very popular.

On one occasion I saw a pottery whistle in use, but failed to obtain a specimen.

XII.—TRADITION AND FOLKLORE.

TRADITION.—On the whole there is singularly little in the shape of myth or tradition ; Aguku¹ was perhaps the most fruitful place, but even here the harvest was small. One tradition says that the Agolo lake was caused by a man making a hole to catch animals, and one day he found it was full of water ; this is a familiar type of flood legend.

Another myth says that no one could sleep at first, but one day a child-king went to Čuku's place for firewood. Čuku took a piece of yam and gave it to the child and when it got home it lay down and slept. Its parents thought it was dead and lamented, but when it woke it explained matters to its father ; the child was sent for more yams ; he brought some home and the king and his wife both ate. The king then resolved to go and fetch the yams from Čuku ; Čuku then made a bargain with the king that he was to mark his son with the Iěi marks and cut off the heads of both his son and his daughter and then bury them in his garden ; a male slave was also to be killed and a female slave, and gardens were to be made with their heads. He was to wait twelve days and then go and look, and in twelve days yams had sprung from the heads of the men and koko yams from the women ; from the elder son had sprung palm and coconut and all big trees, and from the daughter corn and all plants.

Adaka is the head of all the yams, Mbulici of all the koko yams. Iroko is the king of all the trees, coconut the child of the king, therefore iroko and coconut must be buried like men, or at any rate receive the same sacrifices.

¹ See also Èzènrì, p. 48 *seq.*

Then people planted yams and ate and all slept; all countries came to beg the king for yams but he said he could not sell, they had to bring seven fowls, a pot, chalk, and goats. The king made medicine with it and they took it to their lands and sacrificed to *Èvèjiqko*; the king told them he couldn't sell but only give yams for they were his children; they, on the other hand, were to give yams to Nri men when they saw them; if people refuse to do this the Nri man puts down *qtqn* and takes it away and the yams follow him; to get yams again the man must bring fowls, etc., to the king. The medicine which the king makes is called *opiti*; yams and koko yams are cooked, but if a man eats he must not lick his fingers; each takes a piece of yam and throws it on someone else; after this all go home and plant yams.

Čuku first made an ant heap and sent the *Èzènrì* to sit on it; then he took *qtqn*, *qfq* and *alo*, and put them on the ant heap; when the king sat on the ant heap there was no dry ground, so *Čuku* sent a blacksmith who blew his bellows and made the ground strong. *Čuku* sent the days of the week; four things like women carried baskets and came to the king's house, neither king nor doctors knew what they were, but they said that if the king did not sleep he would see at night; a rat came out and went inside the baskets, calling *Èke*, *èke*, what is inside your basket, and so on for the other days; the king remembered the four names and when the four things stood in a row he called them by their names.

If a woman cannot go to market she goes to the king's place puts her basket down and takes it home again. Nri people make markets by planting *oglisi* wood.

In Awka a few vague traditions can be collected as to ancestors, but no two informants agree, and it is difficult to place much reliance on the information except where the *Ndičie* of the quarter are known by the ancestor's name. At Mbwaku I got an account of what professed to be some of their old customs; women, for example, were not allowed

to wear clothes, they had only palm nuts to eat at one time which they soaked in a calabash; they also ate the kernels. When a man died, women used to bury him and lament for him, then they dug up the body and lamented again, staying till dark in the Aḵago; young men found them there and said the custom was not good, that henceforth men should bury people. An old woman once had a cow which bore two calves; the people said it was not good so she sacrificed a goat to the Aḵana, and said let the cow bear one; they further alleged that they used to use rats before they had goats.

Among other customs which they mentioned was that of planting only one line of yams on the day they measured out the farms; men only cut the grass down; no women might come. How much reliance can be placed on these details is uncertain.

FOLK-TALES.—A number of folk-tales will be found in the linguistic part of the report. A few specimens may, however, be given here which were not recorded in Ibo.

The bush cat had a brother, Inya, and told a hunter to kill his brother; the hunter does so and the bush cat says, "I shall have good meat," but the other animals intervene and said, "you have had your brother killed, you can't eat meat," whereupon the bush cat cried, "inyanwannem." (When this word is repeated the bush cat's cry is imitated exactly.)

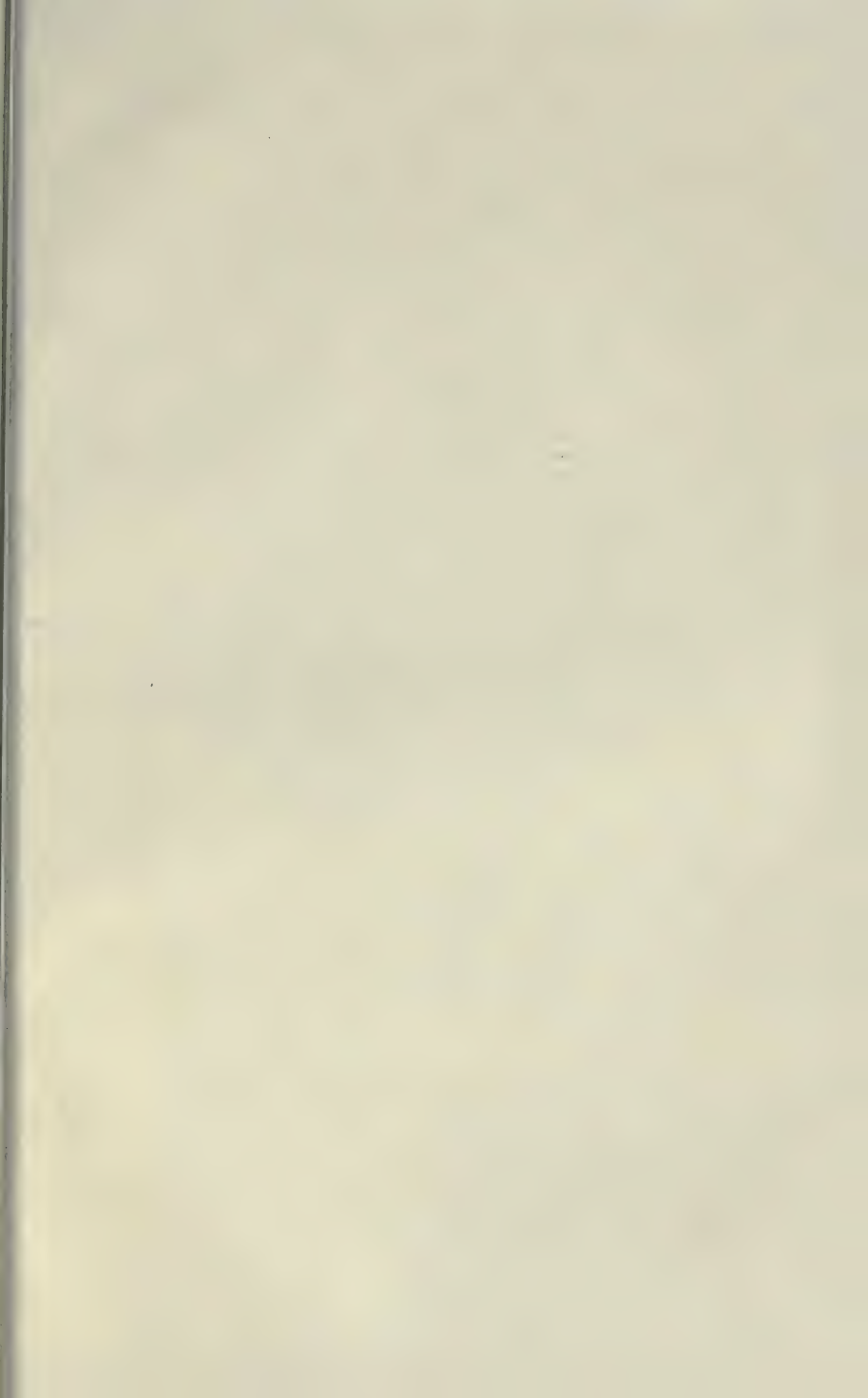
A fowl and a hawk once agreed to stop a man; the hawk told the fowl not to lay an egg and hatch it until he came home, then men would cry and make their throats bad. The hawk came to take the chicken and men shouted, thereupon the hunter fired and the hawk fell. The fowl said, "this is what we agreed to do, eh?"

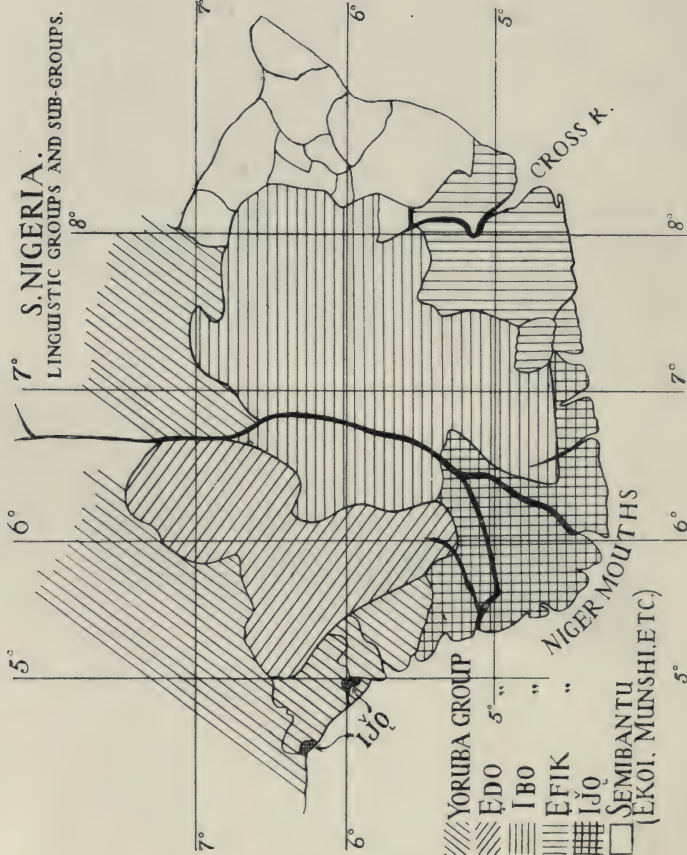
One of the principal characters in these folk-tales is the tortoise. Once the tortoise made a musical instrument and called the animals to dance till they were tired. After they went home, the hornbill took a bag to collect palm nuts, and the tortoise went into the bag without the hornbill knowing, so the tortoise ate all the nuts and made a hole in the bag from which to drop the shells; when the hornbill found the

bag empty with the tortoise in it he flew up into the sky and threw the tortoise into the river, but the tortoise said, "fish come together and carry me out"; then he made them collect grass and go into it and killed them all by fire. The tortoise took a bag to put the fish in and carried it on his head, and when he met the elephant he said he had a dead woman on his head; the elephant found this was a lie so he knocked the tortoise into the bush and ate the fish.

Then the tortoise went to collect nuts and cooked them at home, and went on to the road where he would meet the elephant; the elephant asked what he was doing, and he said he was cooking his eyes for the elephant to eat; he gave palm nuts to the elephant, who asked for more. The tortoise then persuaded the elephant to let him take one of his eyes out; he cooked it and gave him palm nuts in its place; the elephant said he saw nothing with the eye that had been taken out so the tortoise persuaded him to let him take the other eye out and then he would see; then the tortoise said, "I am paying you back for the fish." The elephant could see nothing in the bush and trod on a snake; he took it in his trunk and broke it in two and put it in his eyes, then he recovered his sight.

Once a girl met a man in an open place. He said, "I want to marry you"; she said, "all right"; he said, "I want to take you home"; she replied, "all right," but she did not know that he was a *mwo*; so they went to his house and he took off his nose and his face and his feet and his hands, and then the girl cried and wanted to go home. A hawk saw her and flew down and carried her to the top of the wall of her home, so her father and mother and people were glad; then the father offered a slave and a cow and money and all sorts of property, but the hawk simply gave no answer, but a boy said, "the hawk is looking at the chickens"; then the girl's father offered a chicken to the hawk, so he took one and eat it and now the hawk always takes chickens, and if people shout he will not let them fall, because he brought the girl and can't let them take the chicken away.





APPENDIX A.

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—The languages of West Africa, commonly called Sudanic, and spoken by the true negro, have been classified into four main groups—Eastern Sudanic, Central Sudanic, Middle and Western Sudanic. Two only of these are represented in Southern Nigeria—the “middle belt” embracing Ijò, and Semibantu languages like Munši and others that extend southwards to the Cross River near the Kamerun boundary; the Western Sudanic group includes the remainder of the language of Southern Nigeria.

Not much can be said of the first-named group for lack of material; but as a rule the formation of the plural in nouns is complicated by prefixes, differing according to the meaning of the noun, whether part of the body, animal, and so on: or by suffixes only, both combined. Ijò is an exception.

In the second of the above-mentioned groups the four main stocks in Southern Nigeria are:—

- (a) Yoruba with Igara and Šekri;
- (b) Edo including Sobo, Bini, Kukuruku, Eša;
- (c) Ibo with Ika and numerous other languages, and
- (d) Efik and Ibibio.

Within each of these stocks linguistic changes have taken place, but in Yoruba the differences do not appear to be more than dialectical, whereas in the Edo and Ibo stocks people only a few miles apart may not be able to communicate owing to diversity of language.

It is important to note that some, notably dwellers in the mountains, have conserved more archaic forms than a people such as the Bini, who underwent admixture with Yoruba and drew slaves from many parts.

The essential principle of Sudanese language is that they separate every act into its different parts and express every part by an independent sentence; every incident is described in all its details from beginning to end, and every detail has its special verb; sentences are virtually never subordinate (except after verbs of saying or asking), always co-ordinate, for no sentence is treated as more important than another; Christaller, and following him Westermann, from whom I take this excellent characterization of the genius of the Sudanese languages, termed this form of expression "verbal combinations," examples will be given later.

THE NOUN.

It is useless to treat in detail all the various parts of speech recognized by us in English, for the reason that some of them virtually do not exist; with regard to the noun something may be said as to gender, plural, and case.

GENDER.—Gender is sometimes said to be expressed in certain cases by the use of a different word; this expression, however, seems to me to be hardly accurate, for gender is a grammatical attribute and does not really exist in the Sudanese languages; the facts are better expressed by the statement that the sex of the person spoken of is distinguished, sometimes by a total difference of words, more often by the addition of a word to indicate male or female; very occasionally personal names are found with different forms for male and female.

PLURAL.—In several languages the plural is not expressed at all in the majority of cases. In Yoruba, *a won*, a pronoun meaning they, forms the plural; less frequently it is caused by reduplication. In the Edo languages, vowel change at the beginning of a word is the only method of forming the plural, and in Bini the only vowel which undergoes change

is "o," though in Kukuruku other vowels also undergo change (see Report I and II, p. 144). In Ibo the change from "o" to "i" is likewise a method of forming the plural though, like Edo, it is confined to a few words, *ndi* or *umu* (=children) may be prefixed; another form, which I have not found in practice, is the addition of *ga*; it is probably confined to certain dialects.

In Ijò there seems to be occasionally a change of the initial syllable, a form commonly found among languages which classify their nouns according to their meanings and a sign corresponding prefixes, or suffixes, or both, thus, in Ijò child is *tuwo*, children is *awo*, person is *tumbo* or *tubo*, the plural *apo*, but the rule seems to apply to only a few words. In Efik, *mo* is prefixed to form the plural, this is a pronoun meaning they; "i" may also be prefixed to form the plural, or there may be no change made between singular and plural.

CASE.—The case of a noun is expressed commonly by its position; the subject stands before the verb, the object after; the genitive in Southern Nigeria with few exceptions follows the noun which governs; among the exceptions may be noted Ibo, *ainya mili* (water of eyes, tears); the indirect object when it is a pronoun is sometimes governed by a subsidiary verb which has almost become a preposition; this verb usually means give, but may frequently be translated to or for, thus in Yoruba we have the verb *fu*, in Bini, *ne*, *ni*, *nu* for in Efik, *no*, to do, in Ibo; reversion of the position of subject and object is really possible: where it takes place a change of tone accompanies it, and makes the meaning clear. There are other cases in which verbs or substantives take the place of prepositions; in Yoruba if you wish to say, "strike this with a stick" the form is, *fi iji ti i* "take a stick and hit this."

Some of the verbs which serve in this capacity have been mistaken for prepositions, thus in Efik, Goldie names the word *ke* a particle, but Westermann, to whom I owe a good deal of the present information, shows clearly that it is a local verb meaning to be in a place.

THE VERB.

According to Westermann, most Sudanese languages have the following forms:—

1. Aorist, that is a form which expresses the present or the past, it is used in its simple form.
2. Progressive, this expresses an action which is now being done, and is usually formed with the verb meaning to be.
3. The habitual meaning "I am wont to do" expressed with the help of a verb to stay.
4. The perfect, formed with the help of a verb meaning to end.
5. The future, almost invariably formed with the help of the verb to go.
6. Certain languages have a special form for the plural, but the only one among the Southern Nigerian languages appears to be Efik, where the singular form kpa, has for the plural form kpuga.
7. The negative must be expressed with the aid of the verb; to express no one, it is necessary to say that there was not anyone, and this in Bini may form the subject of a verb; negation is expressed by various particles or by change of tone.
8. Properly speaking there is no passive; the third person plural of the active, often with an indefinite pronoun in the place of the ordinary form, takes its place; thus in Ibo "I am struck" is expressed by etibum, the pronoun being o instead of fa, and the literal meaning "they beat me."

The following table shows how many of these forms of the verb are found.

Form.	Yoruba.	Edo.	Ibo.	Efik.
Aorist ...	×	×	+	×
Progressive ...	×	...	? +	×
Habitual ...	×	...	+	×
Perfect ...	×	×	+	×
Future ...	×	×	+	×

The Ibo form *na* (*cf.* Yoruba *emi nri*, I am seeing) seems to be as a rule simply a progressive form in the affirmative; *da* or *ra*, on the other hand, the negative form, expresses the "habitual" sense.

These tenses by no means exhaust the possibilities; Yoruba, for example, has (*a*) past continuous, (*b*) future imperfect, (*c*) future perfect, (*d*) future perfect and continued action.

ADJECTIVE.

The adjective usually is found as a verbal adjective, though in some languages, Ibo for example, it is often found in the simple form also; one degree of comparison is invariably found, formed by the addition of a word meaning past. In Ibo this may be expressed in a large number of ways, *ka*, *kalu*, *kalisili*, *narili*, etc., in this language a superlative also may be formed *kasi*, *kačasi*, etc., but I have never found it in use.

NUMERALS.—The numeral system is simple in most languages, and in few cases is it possible to reach high numbers. In Ibo, however, especially in the counting of cowries, a complicated system is observed; if they wish to express three hundred and ninety in the place of saying four hundred, less ten, as would usually be the case, they will probably say six cowries in five places thirteen times and the

ease with which they express these numbers in this way argues a considerable amount of mental readiness.

PRONOUNS, ETC.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.—Personal pronouns and adjectives are found in every language and the rules for their use are comparatively simple; they do not, therefore, call for any special remark. The same applies to interrogative and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

ADVERBS.—Adverbs are comparatively few in most of the languages, at any rate that is how it strikes the observer; Westermann has, however, shown that there are an extraordinary number of adverbs in Ewe, which are appropriated to use with particular verbs.

It will be apparent, from what has been said above, that the role of conjunction is in some languages confined to joining nouns, each sentence being independent of all others.

Yoruba, however, is well supplied with subordinate conjunctions, *e.g.*, *bi*, if; *ki*, that; *bi-tile*, though.

In Ibo *obuluna*, if, is used, and a subjunctive is formed with *ka*, *e.g.*, *kambia*, let me come, the first personal pronoun in this case preceding the noun.

An essential feature of the Sudanese languages which anyone who wishes to understand or speak them accurately must make a point of grasping is the musical tone; in the most extreme form of the Sudanese language Ewe may be taken as the example, many words are monosyllabic; from this it is apparent that there must be many identical combinations of consonants and vowels—each combination of consonant and vowel, however, has its own pitch of musical tone; there are three simple tones, high, middle, and low, for instance, *fú*, to be dry; *fu*, sea; *fù*, hook. There are also two so-called composed tones, in which the voice rises or falls within the syllable to another tone thus *vũ*, drum. Naturally even with these means of distinction, and it must be remembered that words with different tones, are, for the Ewe, as

different as if they were spelt entirely differently, there are comparatively few words which are not ambiguous.

In Ibo the number of monosyllabic words is vastly less, except among the verbs (here, singularly enough, I was unable to discover the existence of many tones). In Ibo too not only tone, but also dynamic accent, help to determine the meaning of a word; consequently the number of ambiguities is considerably less, though there is a set off against this in the number of homonyms among the verbs.

NOTE ON LINGUISTIC MAP.

The country east of the Efik, Ibo, and Yoruba sub-groups appears to be occupied by an almost unbroken mass of Bantu or semi-Bantu languages, the only exception being Nkaan, in a bend of the Cross River, which is identical with Koelle's Yala, though not located in the same area. Another area, known by the name of Yala, lies further north, but it is not known whether the language is the same as Nkaan.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF TREES.

- Abača (oiča), *Manihot utilissima*, Pohl.
Akukwa, *Trachyphrynium braunianum*, Baker.
Ẹ̣ịịlie, *Erythrina* sp.
Mbwale danenu, *Chasmanthera dependens*, Hochst.
N̄gu, *Albizzia ferruginea*, Benth.
Qbo, *Cassytha*.
Odala (mwen̄we), *Oncoba glauca*, HR. f.
Oglisi, *Newboldia laevis*, Seem.
Qjì, *Pandanus*.
Okwa, *Treculia* sp.
Olá, *Bridelia ferruginea*, Benth.
Qnà, *Dioseorea dumetorum*, Pax.

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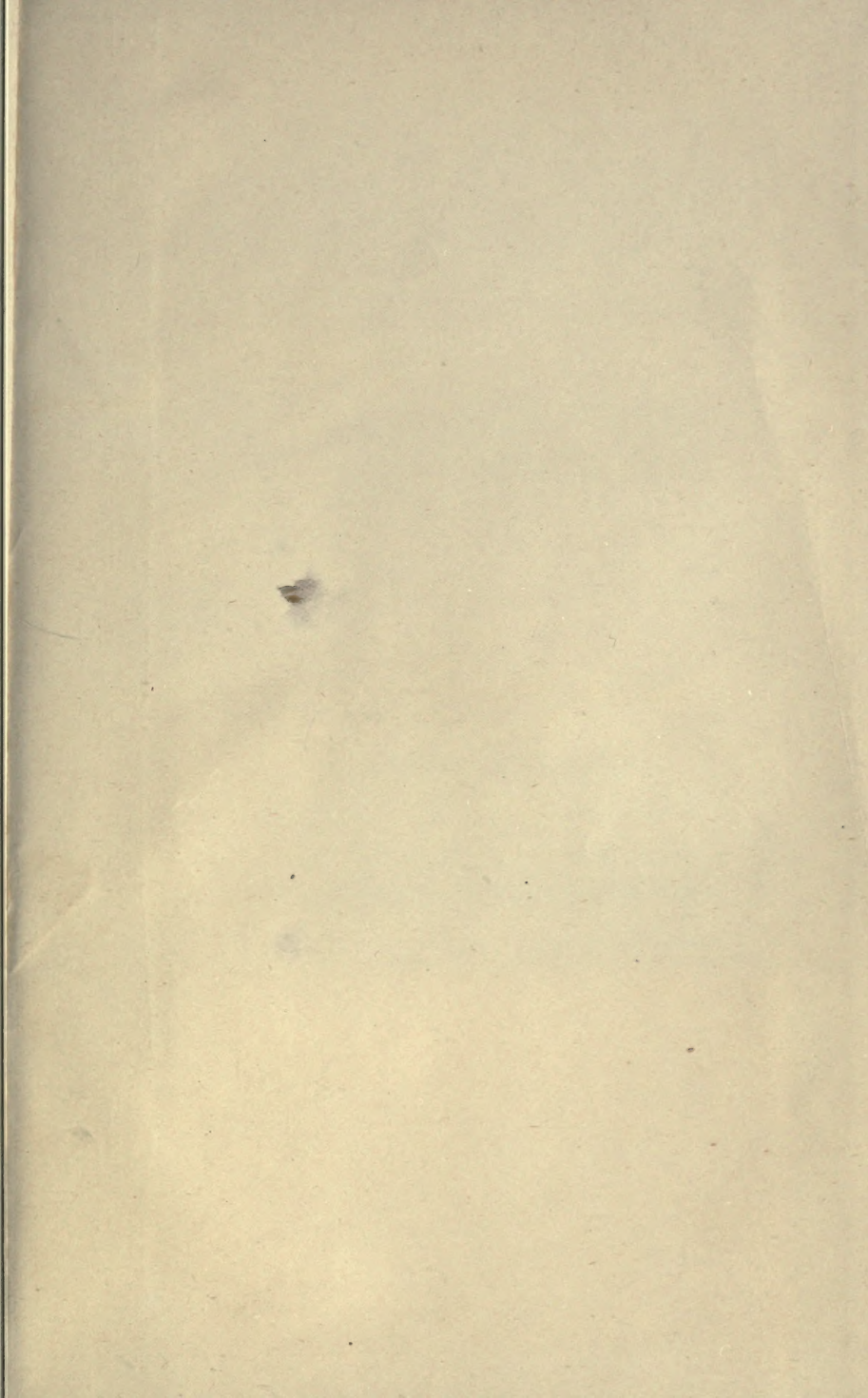
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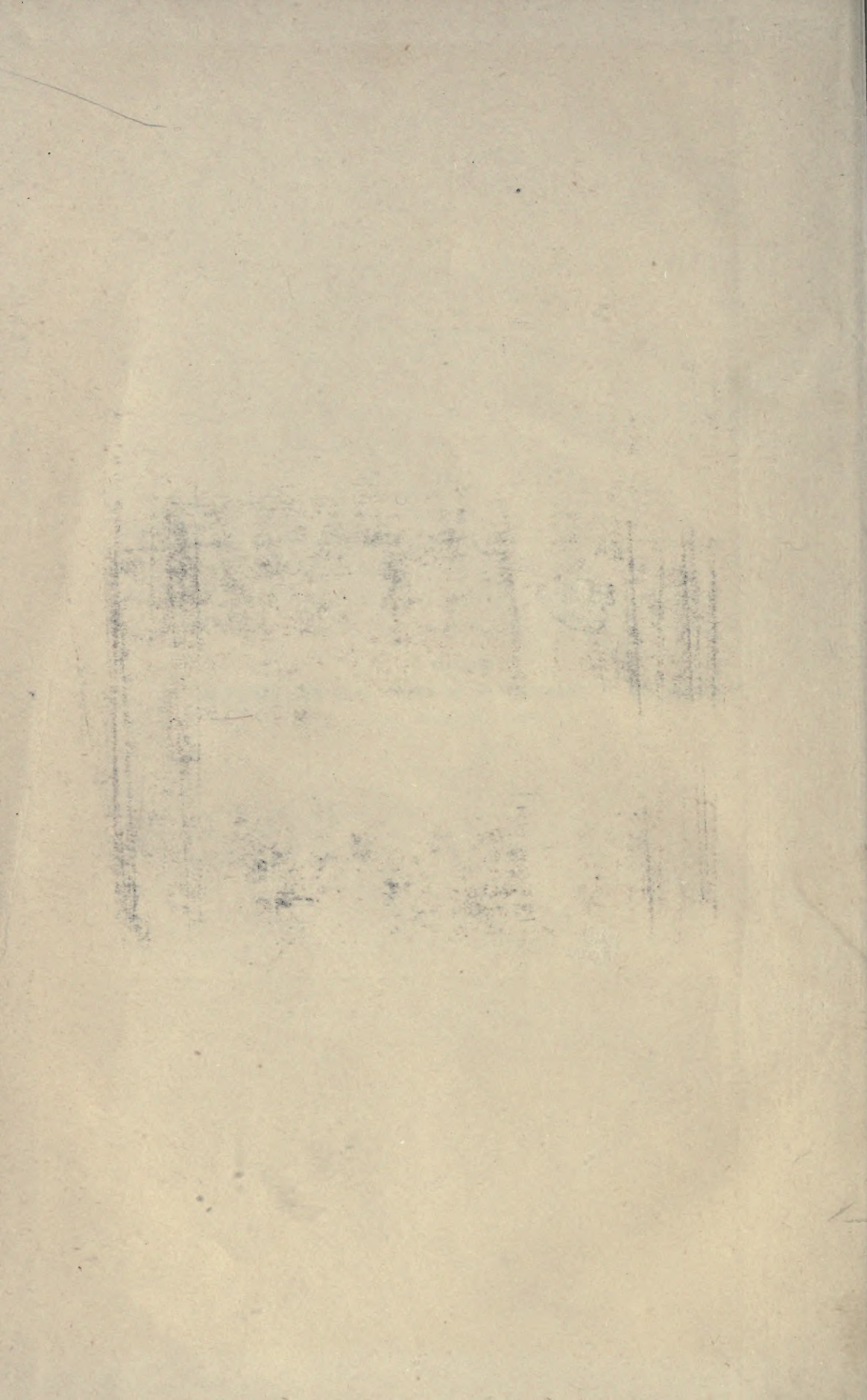
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